THE

Laſt Efforts

OF

AFFLICTED INNOCENCE:

Being an account of the

PERSECUTION

OF THE

Proteſtants of *FRANCE.*

AND

A Vindication of the *Reformed Religion* from the Aſperſions of Diſloyalty and Rebellion, charg'd on it by the *Papiſts.*

Tranſlated out of French.

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TO

The Right Honourable

WILLIAM

EARL of

BEDFORD,

Lord *Ruſſel*, Baron *Ruſſel* of *THORNHAUGH*,

Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

My Lord,

'TIS *a ſtrange Queſtion ask'd by St.* Peter, *Who will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? a Queſtion that intimates* Innocence, *an effectual Protection againſt wrong and violence: But he had been taught the Doctrine of the Croſs, he had ſeen his divine Maſter, the Arche-type of Im-*

maculate Purity and Innocence, baſely betray'd by an Apoſtle of his own, contumelioufly abuſed by a Rabble he had infinitely oblig'd, Blaſphem'd by an Impious Souldiery, ſcoff'd and laugh'd at by prophane Governors, and under a colour of Juſtice, by the curſed Arts of his malicious Enemies, formally Arraign'd, Condemn'd, and Executed as a Traytor to Cæſar: *This was an inſtance ſo clear, it was impoſſible not to be convinc'd by it, that* Innocence *and* Goodneſs *inſtead of protecting men from injury, expoſe them to it: And leſt thoſe he writ to, might, (by the Queſtion he had ask'd) miſtake themſelves into a confidence, that* Innocence *would ſecure them from Perſecution, the inſpir'd Penman obviates the Error, by applying himſelf immediately to inſtruct them in their conduct, when oppreſt with Calumnies and Wrongs.*

That Golden Age *is long ſince paſt, when an* Univerſal Innocence *ſecur'd every one from injury: The* World *hath ſince been in a State of War: Inoffenſiveneſs is no longer a ſufficient Guard, and by the Law of Nature the weaker yields to the more powerful. The* Innocence *of the* Lamb *cannot ſecure him from the* Violence *of* Wolves, *or* Subtilty *of* Foxes; *The greater Fiſh devour the leſs. The harmleſs Dove is the daily food of the Birds of Prey; and Man not content to*

have

have the Fiſh of the Sea, the Beaſts of the Field, and the Fowls of the Air a Sacrifice to his pleaſure, is ſo maliciouſly bent to worry his own kind, as if he thought himſelf created for the ruine of his fellow-Creatures, particularly of Man. Craft and Malice raiſe themſelves Trophies on the Ruins of Innocence, *and the* Nimrods *of the Earth triumph in the Spoils of their Inferiors, and place their Glory in Oppreſſion and Violence.*

This State of War being very uneaſy, reaſon had recourſe to the Expedient of Laws, and Conſtitution of Governments, to retrieve in ſome meaſure, by Religion *and* Juſtice, *the irreparable loſs of* Primitive Innocence *and* Natural Goodneſs.

But thoſe ill Inclinations that made Laws neceſſary to reſtrain their Malignity from breaking into act, no ſooner found the Hand ty'd up by Laws from violent Attempts, but the Head was imploy'd to elude thoſe Laws by ſubtilty and artifice, to render that which was deſign'd the protection of the Innocent, *a Snare to catch them in; to make Law an inſtrument of Oppreſſion, and Juſtice it ſelf a Miniſter of injury. A State no leſs dangerous to man in his civil Capacity, than that ill habit of body, that turns the moſt wholeſom food into poyſon, is dangerous to his nature, conſuming and ruining it by that very aliment*

that ſhould have repaired and preſerved it.

Such is the State of that Government, where a prevalent Faction doth by colour of Law and pretence of Religion, deſtroy the Religion and Rights of their Adverſaries; who are therefore the more miſerable, becauſe they ſuffer unjuſtly under a form of Juſtice.

Such, My Lord, *is the State the* Proteſtants *in* France *complain of at this day: The Enemies of their Religion had vow'd it's Extirpation: They had try'd the force of Inhumane Cruelties and unheard of Butcheries to deſtroy the Profeſſors of it: Finding it impregnable by open aſſault, they apply themſelves to effect by art and ſubtilty, what they had in vain attempted by force and violence, and to deſtroy by Law what they had found proof againſt Fire and Sword, Torture and Maſſacre. They procure Edicts for demoliſhing their Churches, raſing their Oratories, and ſhutting up their Schools, or converting them to other uſes; the very method us'd with ſo much ſucceſs by* Julian *the Apoſtate, for rooting out Chriſtianity.*

The Proteſtants *alarm'd at the Proceedings of their Enemies, arm'd with authority, and vigorouſly uſing it to their ruin, apply themſelves by Petition to their King, for redreſs*

dreſs of their Grievances, and preſervation of the Priviledges granted them by the Edicts and Arreſts of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors: That great Prince mov'd with the juſtice of their demands, grants an Edict, That no violence be done his Proteſtant-Subjects *on the account of Religion. Their Enemies not diſcourag'd reſolve to purſue their point, and under ſpecious pretences of Piety, obtain authority to labour the Converſion of* Proteſtants, *to viſit their Sick, to examine their Children, and to receive their Declaration at ſeven years old, what Religion (the* Reformed *or* Roman) *they would chooſe to be inſtructed in: They improve this Authority ſo effectually and ſcandalouſly to the deſtruction of the* Proteſtants, *that laying aſide the antiquated means of inſtruction and argument, they took a new method for Converſion, making uſe only of Threats to frighten, of Promiſes to ſeduce, of Money and Immunities to bribe, and (where theſe means failed) of force to compel Men, Women, and Children into that* Catholick Church, *which turns all into Fiſh that come into its Net, and enſures all who go to Maſs a ſafe Arrival in Heaven.*

The Proteſtants *ſenſible of the abuſe of the Authority of their King, contrary to his intentions, prepare a ſecond Addreſs for relief;*

lief; but coming to preſent it, found all Avenues blocked up, no acceſs to his Majeſty, no redreſs in his Courts, the Miniſters of State prepoſſeſs'd to their prejudice, and themſelves look'd upon as Enemies to the State.

My Lord, *It was the artifice of their Enemies to repreſent them ſuch to that ambitious Monarch, too generous and compaſſionate to perſecute good Subjects, but extreamly jealous of his Authority. So the* Jewiſh Prieſts *finding* Pilate *convinc'd of our* Saviour's Innocence, *and inclin'd to acquit him, ſuggeſt, he had ſpoken againſt* Cæſar, *&c. and prevail'd with that Judge to Condemn him for Treaſon, the greateſt of Crimes, who upon a ſolemn hearing, declar'd he had found no fault in him.*

The greateſt Affliction to an innocent Sufferer is aſperſion of Guilt; Tortures may crack his Sinews, mangle his Limbs, and deſtroy his Body, but falſe Aſperſions wound the Heart, diſtract the Spirits, and rend and tear the Soul in pieces. His Innocence *may ſupport him againſt the pains of Racks and Gibbets, but the torture of Calumny is intolerable.*

This, My Lord, *is the Caſe of the* Afflicted Proteſtants: *They have for their Religion patiently ſubmitted to the Perſecution*

of

of their Enemies: But they not content to have ſtrip'd them naked, forc'd them to ſeek a lively-hood in forraign Regions, and live on the Alms of people unknown, endeavour to rob them of their ſole ſupport, the reputation of their Innocence; *by perſwading the World, they are men of Rebellious Principles, Enemies to Government, particularly Monarchy: This of all their Sufferings is the only one they are impatient of, and could not ſubmit to without a Defence.*

My Lord, *The Sufferings of the* French Proteſtants, *the injuſtice of their Perſecution, the ill conſequences that may attend it, and the clearing of their Loyalty, are the principal Subjects of the following Diſcourſes: The three firſt particulars are peculiar to thoſe of the* Reformed Religion *in* France: *The laſt ſo far concerns the whole* Proteſtant *Party of* Europe, *as the common Enemy charges them all with Principles of Rebellion: The Author, though he apply himſelf chiefly to vindicate the Reformed of* France, *hath not forgot to add ſomewhat in juſtification of other* Proteſtants, *and, by a juſt Tranſlation of the Crime, laid the Guilt of Rebellious Principles and Practiſes at the doors of their Enemies.*

The

The sight of misery, especially undeserv'd, melts a generous soul into pity and compassion; but of all the Sufferings our nature is subject to, those undergone for Conscience and Religion are the most glorious, and best deserve Commiseration; when out of sence of Duty to the Soveraign of the World, for an inward and innocent satisfaction of mind, and hopes of pleasure purely spiritual, invisible and future, men slight all the pleasures of sence; and with true Magnanimity, not only contemn worldly advantages, but chearfully endure the smartest Afflictions and Tortures: Criminals have that benefit of the Laws they offend, they are allow'd to plead for themselves: An Innocent Sufferer *hath right to Compassion and Favour, especially a Sufferer on the account of Religion, and who, on that account, hath been forc'd to seek in strange Countries, the right deny'd him in his own. Such,* My Lord, *are these* Protestant Exiles, *who barr'd access to the* French *King their Lord, fled for refuge to the Throne of our most* Gracious Prince, *who in Commiseration to the distressed* Protestants, *hath made his Kingdoms a general Sanctuary, where they who could not have justice, quiet, or security at home, find safety, protection, and favour, with the benefit of Laws, and kind influences of a Government infinitely*

infinitely more Gentle than those they were born under.

My Lord, *'Tis the Glory of the Mighty to protect the* Innocent: *Nothing makes power look so venerable and divine, as imploying it aright. The highest pleasure and best fruit of greatness is the conscience to have used it well: That excellent Prince who esteemed the day lost wherein he had not obliged some of his Inferiors, was the Darling of Mankind: His memory is blest to this day, when others who mov'd in the same Sphear, but made ill use of their greatness, are mentioned with abhorrence: Persons of eminent dignity and power draw the eyes of inferiour mankind, as those Luminous bodies that move in the upper Regions, which all look at, but with aspects different as the Apprehensions they have of them: Those they conceive of a malignant nature, they look on with horrour; but those they apprehend benign and good, they behold with pleasure and delight, with hope and confidence, with respect and veneration.*

My Lord, *Allow me the liberty to tell your Lordship, that among the Stars of the greater magnitude in our Horizon, the* Distressed Protestants *fix their Eyes on you, as one of no less Propitious than Powerful Influence: Their envious Enemies have endeavoured to blast their Reputation, and by Calumny and unjust*

unjuſt aſperſions to rob them of the benefit of that juſtice they might pretend to at home, and to repreſent them unworthy any favour abroad: This oblig'd them to a Vindication of themſelves in their own Language: But that being not univerſally underſtood in this Kingdom (where they are ſo neerly concern'd to ſtand right in the opinion of the moſt loyal and beſt Reformed Church *of the World) I thought it not altogether unuſeful to them, to have their Defence publiſh'd in* Engliſh *for general ſatisfaction: The ſame malice that aſſaulted their* Innocence *by unjuſt Aſperſions, will be too apt to cavil at their Vindication, and cry down their defence: The Juſtice of their Cauſe, without the aſſiſtance of a powerful patronage, may be too weak to protect them. And for* The laſt Efforts of Afflicted Innocence, The juſt Vindication of Perſecuted Proteſtants, *what Patronage more ſuitable, what Protection more agreeable than* His, *whoſe noble Extraction and generous Temper naturally incline to pity the miſerable, to protect the Innocent, and ſuccour the injur'd? Whoſe integrity and ſoundneſs in the* Proteſtant Religion, *have render'd him eminent for piety, vertue, and worth; and whoſe ample fortune, dignity, and honour, no leſs juſtly than ſignally diſtinguiſh him from other Men? And for that this Character*

ther belongs peculiarly to your Lordſhip, be pleas'd to excuſe the liberty I take to beg, theſe Diſcourſes may appear in Engliſh, *under your Lordſhips Auſpicious Name; and that you will believe, nothing but the luſtre of your great Qualities, and the glory of your Name, appearing ſo proper to protect and grace a Tract of this nature, and the opinion of your goodneſs and condeſcenſion to vouchſafe it that honour, could have inſpir'd me with this preſumption. For which I humbly beg pardon, who am,*

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt humble,

and moſt Devoted Servant,

W. Vaughan.

TO

TO THE PROTESTANT ENGLISH READER.

Suave mari magno jactantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare Laborem:
Sed tua res agitur Paries ubi proximus ardet.

Reader,

I Presume you sensible of your happiness, in being born and bred a Member of a *Protestant Church*, wherein Piety is consistent with sound reasoning, and a Man may be Religious without forfeiting his Senses or renouncing his Judgment: I doubt not but you esteem it a Blessing to be subject to a Government the best constituted of any, and Laws so equally tender of the Prerogative of the Soveraign and Priviledge of the Subject, as best conduces to the common welfare of

of both; and you muſt be unworthy the Name I addreſs'd you by, if you do not value it as the greateſt Bleſſing on Earth, that the Church and State are under the Protection and Government of a moſt Gracious and Excellent Prince: But that which the Subject of the following Diſcourſes prompts me particularly to mind you of, is the immediate ſource of our envy'd felicity, that our Prince is not only moſt gracious, moſt wiſe and moſt juſt, but that he is a ſincerely *Proteſtant Prince*. A favour of Heaven to which we principally owe the preſervation of our Rights, ſacred and civil, the exerciſe of our Religion and benefit of our Laws: The miſerable condition of the *Proteſtants* in *France*, who ſigh forth their juſt but fruitleſs Complaints in the following ſheets are an Evidence too clear and too ſad; That Edicts and Arreſts, Priviledges and Immunities, Liberties and Laws are too ſlight a Bulwark to ſecure Proteſtant Subjects the exerciſe of their Religion, and enjoyment of their Civil Rights under a Prince of the *Romiſh Perſwaſion*: Theſe Perſecuted *Proteſtants* the daily objects of your Charity, are the Succeſſors and Deſcendants of thoſe of the laſt Age, to whoſe Loyalty and Valour *Henry* the

fourth of *France* acknowledged himſelf much a Debtor, for the Diadem of that Kingdom, which the Monarch now Regnant there wears with ſo much Glory, and the *Catholick* Liguers labour'd ſo vigorouſly and ſcandalouſly to rend away from the Family of *Bourbon*. It was in conſideration of that Fidelity, and as a Princely Mark of his favour, and acceptance of the eminent ſervice they had done him; that Prince, (no leſs truly than nominally great) confirm'd to them the free exerciſe of their Religion, with ample Immunities and Priviledges ratified with all ſolemnity of Law requiſite in ſuch caſes: All *Europe* is witneſs, the preſent *Proteſtants* of *France* have not degenerated from the Loyalty of their Anceſtors, but have ſerv'd their Prince with all imaginable Fidelity and Zeal for the Glory of his Crown: The World admires the Royal qualities of their Monarch; his Conduct proves him a Prince every way great: He is particularly fam'd for ſtrictneſs of Juſtice and profoundneſs of Wiſdom. His *Proteſtant* Subjects who are laſh'd ſo ſeverely by the rod of his Authority, declare him a perſon of a generous Temper and ſweet Diſpoſition, a Man that abhors Cruelty and Violence, and is one of the beſt natur'd

natur'd Princes under Heaven: *Rome*, to her ſorrow, finds him no *Bigot*, though a *Roman Catholick*, yet the *Proteſtants* of *France* are perſecuted with that rigour and extremity, they think it a happineſs to purchaſe with the loſs of all ſecular enjoyments the freedom of their Conſcience, and by a voluntary exile to find in ſtrange Countries that Juſtice and Peace they cannot have in their own. Poor *Hugonots!* What can be a ſufficient Guarranty, for the exerciſe of your Religion, which Edicts in its favour obtain'd on weighty and juſt Conſiderations, and ratified with all the ſolemnity of Law, the loyalty of its Profeſſors, the merit of your Anceſtors, the innate goodneſs and wiſdom of your Soveraign cannot ſecure! If Perſecution be your Lot under the Reign of a Monarch ſo Generous and Sagacious, ſo free from Superſtition, and ſo full of Heroick Qualities as your *Lewis* the 14*th*, ceaſe to complain of the Murders and Maſſacres under *Charles* the 9*th* and *Henry* the 3*d*; and arm your ſelves with a Chriſtian expectation of greater Sufferings, and more fiery tryals of your Patience and Loyalty, when it ſhall be your misfortune to ſee the *French* Crown on the head of a weak, ill-natur'd or Bigotted Prince: Your preſent

King hath bravely defy'd the Thunderbolts of *Rome*, and vigorouſly attack'd its uſurp'd Supremacy, yet permits you to be rigorouſly handled; what uſage muſt you expect from a Superſtitious Soul, that will receive the Dictates of the Pope as Oracles of Heaven, and hazard Crowns to merit the title of *a true Son of the Church*, in executing Commands, the moſt diſhonourable and bloudy the malice of Prieſts or intereſt of the Papacy ſhall impoſe upon him? Impute it ſingly to the good nature of your King, that Fires are not kindled, and Gibbets ſet up to deſtroy you as in former Ages; the malice of your Enemies is not abated, and your Religion, the cauſe of your Sufferings, is the ſame as then; but your King hath a Soul too noble and tender to command Innocents to be tortur'd and burnt; a Spectacle *Charles* the *9th* made his Divertiſement and Pleaſure: How miſerable muſt you be under a Prince that ſhall delight in your Sufferings, and think it not juſt only, but meritorious to extirpate you, when you are thus ſharply perſecuted under ſo great a Monarch, who had the goodneſs to declare he would willingly ſacrifice his right hand for (what he calls) your Converſion? Had your ſage and wiſe Prince ſo much tenderneſs for you,

that

that he would have ſacrific'd the inſtrument of ſo many glorious Atchievements, the Darling of his noble and ambitious ſoul, for that which conceives your good, and yet is impos'd upon by the arts of your Enemies to connive at your ruine, and permit his authority to be abus'd to warrant and countenance thoſe Violences and Outrages his Soul abhors, and his eyes cannot endure a ſight of? Preſerve, as you do, your Loyalty to your Soveraign, admire his Vertues, and extol his Goodneſs: Triumph in the clearneſs of your Innocence, that the Enemies of your Religion own not any cauſe of your preſent Perſecution, but your King's Pleaſure, that there ſhall be but one Religion in his Kingdom: But lament the unhappieſt of his Education in a Religion of Principles, ſo unnatural, it would take away that variety God and Nature have unalterably eſtabliſhed, no leſs in the Opinions and Judgments, than in the Tempers and Faces of Men; ſo tyrannically, it would enſlave all Mankind to its Tenets, though never ſo abſur'd; ſo wildly ambitious, it would uſurp that Soveraignty God hath reſerved to himſelf over the judgment and conſcience, and force Men, contrary to both, to comply with its Su-

perſtitions, and become Traytors to God by a prophane Hypocriſie, that they may appear good Subjects to the Pope by an outward Conformity to his Impoſitions; ſo irrational, it would perſwade men to put out their eyes to be guided by it, to abjure their Senſes and renounce their Reaſon, to be governed by its Dictates: Bewail the malice and ſubtilty of your Enemies, that hath perverted your Prince, from a Father of his faithful Subjects into a Perſecutor of *Proteſtants*, an Oppreſſor of the *Reformed Church*; inſpired him with a Cruelty it found not in his Nature, and ſurprized him to permit Violences and Outrages to be committed upon you, which are no leſs contrary to his judgment than they are to his goodneſs.

But the Moon hath her ſpots; *Solomon* and *Alexander* were not free from miſcarriages, and the ſagacious malice of the enemies of *Proteſtants*, quickly finds out thoſe weakneſſes in the Souls of the beſt Princes they have acceſs to, which they impoſe upon, and manage to the prejudice of the *Reformed Religion*: They knew the *French* King of too good a nature to permit general Maſſacres, or delight in Cruelty exerciſed on his Subjects; they were

were ſenſible he is not a Bigot, to be perſwaded to yield up the Lives of his Subjects to the pleaſure of the Pope, or the intereſt of his Church; nor ſo ſilly to believe the God of the Chriſtians can be pleaſed, as ſome of the pretended Vicars of Chriſt have been, with ſlaughter of men. They obſerved ſo much Juſtice and Equity in his nature, he would be ſcandalized at a propoſal that would have engaged him, contrary to Law, and without colour of Juſtice, to violate the rights of a loyal and numerous party of his Subjects; they apprehended him too ſenſible of the intereſt of his Crown, to approve of a Conduct that would oblige him to oppreſs millions of Subjects, to whom he ought to be and had often declared himſelf a Father; and by Perſecution of *Innocents* to depopulate his Kingdom, which he found too thin planted to ſerve his great deſigns: They conſidered him too jealous of his Authority, to allow any ſubject or party, how great ſoever, to attempt without permiſſion from him, upon any priviledge or right of their fellow-Subjects: But they knew that *Achilles* impenetrable in all other parts, was vulnerable in one, that the Fort is not impregnable which has one weakneſs

by which it may be mastered: They were at a fault, but pursued their Game, and at last hit the Scent. They considered the *French* King an Ambitious Prince, jealous of his authority, and as impatient of a Traytor as of a Superiour: They confess it inhumane as well as unchristian to murder Innocents, and Massacre men for differences in opinion, which they could no more help than those of their constitution. They admit the Popes invading the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, an Usurpation not to be tolerated by so great a Monarch; they own it unworthy the Justice of so excellent a Prince, to violate the Priviledges granted his Subjects by his Ancestors; they grant it to be against the interest of the State, to lay waste his Provinces, and depopulate his Countries by forcing his Subjects into forreign parts: But they conceive it just to punish Criminals; they think it both expedient and necessary to root out Traytors and extirpate Rebels, to destroy Vipers which eat out their way through the Bowels of their Mother, to exterminate those Subjects, who to support a Faction and maintain a particular interest of Religion, would ruine their Countrey; and while he carries the terrour of his Arms into

Forreign

Forreign Regions, would put all the Provinces of his Kingdom into a Combuſtion, and oblige him to withdraw his Forces from proſecuting his Rights, and advancing his Glory by Conqueſts abroad, to quench with the bloud of Civil War the flames that would be kindled in the heart of *France*: That their zeal for his Service and Glory, had diſcovered in his Kingdom a Seminary of ſuch Monſters, which muſt be ſuppreſſed: That they were numerous and powerful, and they durſt not attack them without particular Commiſſion and the favour of his Authority: That they were a Race of Traytors, who envyed the glorious ſucceſs of his Arms, and malign'd his Triumphs, men of Rebellious Principles, that ſucked in Treaſon with their Milk, that were Enemies to Government, eſpecially Monarchy that inſiſted on Rights, and pretended to Priviledges independent of his pleaſure: That preſumed to think his Authority bounded by Laws, and that his Will is to be controll'd by Edicts, and directed by Councels: That thoſe upſtart Innovators of the pretended *Reformed Religion*, were the men they meant: That

Seed

Seed of Hereticks, that *Hydra* of Apoſtates, the Glory of whoſe ruine was reſerved for his Reign: That the Rights they pretend to by Law, may by Law be deſtroyed: That the illneſs of their Principles hath forfeited their Priviledges: That the *Roman Catholicks* had a Law, and by that Law the *Hugonots* ought to be deſtroyed: That a Monarch without Diſpotical Authority cannot be great: That blind obedience in the Church is a preparative abſolutely neceſſary for Arbitrary Government in the State: That thoſe Innovators allow the uſe of private judgment, preſume to cenſure the actions of their Superiors, and diſpute the Commands they ought to obey.

Talibus inſidiis! By ſuch Deluſions as theſe, by ſuch artifice and cunning, was that Prince impos'd upon, to permit them to be perſecuted as diſſaffected to the State, whom he loved as his beſt Subjects: And the ſame time he oppoſes the Uſurpations of the Pope, and ſhakes off his yoke; he is perſwaded to deliver up to the fury of *Papiſts* his *Proteſtant Subjects*, whoſe greateſt Crime, is their having renounced the pretended

pretended Supremacy of the *Roman See*: And to prevent the redreſs they might expect for their Grievances from the Juſtice and Clemency of their Prince, when rightly informed by their humble Addreſſes, their Enemies have ſo prepoſſeſſed him to their prejudice, they are barred acceſs to his Throne, denyed Juſtice in his Courts, and their Petitions of Right, rejected as Criminal, and ſtigmatized with the odious Title of inſolent Remonſtrances:

The Defence of the *French Proteſtants* againſt the Charge of Rebellious Principles and Practices, is partly the Subject of the ſubſequent Diſcourſes: I pretend not to anticipate their Apology, by ſaying any thing for them, but deſire the Reader to peruſe what they ſay for themſelves; and that he will learn by their Misfortunes, to value the happineſs of being ſubject to a *Proteſtant* Prince, and wiſh and endeavour, as far as is conſiſtent with Piety, Loyalty, and Juſtice, to render that Happineſs perpetual: Modern *Rome* pretends, no leſs than the Ancient, to Empire and Soveraignty: This pre-

pretended to Empire over the Body and Estate that sets up a claim to a spiritual Soveraignty over Souls, to serve the design of exercising a Temporal Dominion over Persons and Possessions: Modern *Rome*, impatient of a Rival in Authority, hath long considered the *Reformed Church* as old *Rome* did *Carthage*, an Enemy without whose extirpation it could not safely subsist, and hath Decreed an irreconcileable and eternal Hostility against it. And where Hostility is Decreed, the Maxim is currant, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?* Fraud and Force are equally allowed for the Destruction of an Enemy: *Carthage* might more reasonably have expected sincere and perpetual Amity from *Rome*, than those of the *Reformed Religion* may expect from the *Papacy*, which looks upon them not only as Enemies, but Rebels and Apostates, and solemnly devotes them to Destruction here, and Damnation hereafter.

If these Inferences seem ill grounded or uncharitable, and inconsistent with the Principles of Christianity, allowed by those of the *Roman Religion*, let it be

be considered, whether that Religion hath not long degenerated from a Guide to eternity into a meer instrument of State, and is not principally made use of to support the Grandeur of the Papal Chair, and the Luxury of his Court: That it thinks not it self sufficiently supported without an Inquisition, to root out Dissenters under the title of Hereticks; and where the prudence of Princes hath kept out the Inquisition, and denyed the Pope that colour of Law to exterminate their Subjects, the *Protestants* have been murdered by whole-sale in general Massacres, since they could not be re-tail'd to Death by Information and Process. That it makes subjection to the Pope necessary to Salvation; that it declares *Protestants*, *Hereticks*, and reputes *Hereticks*, *Outlaws* and *Enemies of Mankind*, with whom no Faith is to be kept. These are the genuine causes of the Miseries of *Protestants* under Princes infected with the Doctrine of *Rome*; hence proceed those Violations of Priviledges, breach of Edicts and Laws in their favour, denyal of Justice and ruine of their Fortunes and Lives: What Law can bind a Prince, who thinks it not only lawful but meritorious

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to break it? How hardly ſhall a Subject have that benefit of Law, which his Soveraign holds himſelf obliged to deny him? But if Princes would conſider, that the *Religion* of *Rome* hath Pardon in ſtore for the greateſt Crimes, but none for that of denying the *Roman Supremacy*, that Sin againſt the Holy *See* not to be forgiven: That it allows ſervice done that *See*, not only an Attonement to expiate the Guilt of the greateſt Villany, but meritorious to gain him a Crown in Heaven, who will expoſe himſelf by the blackeſt of Crimes to ſupport the Popes temporal Crown in an exigence: That the Profeſſion and Practice of the *Roman Religion* by *Roman Catholick* Princes, hath not been able to ſecure their Lives from being made a Sacrifice to the Pleaſure of the *Pope* and the intereſt of his *Church*, by the hands of *Roman Catholick* Aſſaſſins: Did Princes conſider this, neither thoſe who have been bred up in that perſwaſion could think themſelves ſafe in the Poſſeſſion of their Crowns, without a dependance on the Pope and a ſubmiſſion (unbecoming a Prince) to his Dictates and intereſt. Nor could any Prince bred up

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in a *Reformed Religion,* (which owns the Supremacy of Kings immediate under God, and makes Loyalty an indiſpenſable duty from the Subject to the Soveraign) be ever ſeduced to change it for a Religion, which hath furniſhed a Monk to murder *Henry* the third of *France*, (not only a Popiſh Prince, but a Perſecutor of *Proteſtants*) and a *Ravillac* to aſſaſſinate *Henry* the fourth, who having eſcaped the fury of the *Catholick* Arms, while he continued a *Proteſtant*, fell by the hands of a Popiſh Villain, after his Perverſion to the *Popiſh Religion.*

THE

THE LAST EFFORTS OF AFFLICTED INNOCENCE.

The First Discourse:

Between two Gentlemen, the one of Provence, *the other of* Paris, *&c.*

The Provincial. YOU will not deny, Sir, but 'tis my fate to surprize you. I cannot imagine this second Enterview less surprizing than the former. A years absence had given you hope, you were rid of a troublesome Companion; But he is come again,

The Parisian. Persons of your Merit and charming Conversation are not to be call'd

troubleſom : Surprizes of this kind are always agreeable. But where have you been ſince our laſt ſight of you ?

Prov. Soon after our ſecond Diſcourſe, I had advice by Letter of urgent affairs haſten'd me into *Provence*, where I ſpent near a twelve-month : But my buſineſs in *Provence* could not make me ſo forget the Charms of *Paris*, but I am come again to take a ſecond taſte of the pleaſures of it, though perhaps to your trouble : I have found again my *Hugonot* Gentleman, who hath ſtaid all this while at *Paris*, and probably takes more delight in it than I.

Par. I perceive, he hath not fail'd to entertain you afreſh with the ſtate of his Religion, the Subject he was ſo full of the laſt year. And generally, the Gentlemen of his perſwaſion, when at liberty, can hardly ſpeak of any thing elſe, every day affording them new matter of Diſcourſe.

Pro. I confeſs, my *Hugonot* never meets me, but he ſpeaks to me of it; and with ſuch Triumph and Joy, as if he had ſtopt your mouth and mine; and that we had nothing to anſwer the Reaſons he brought to prove, That the Conduct now uſed againſt the *Hugonots*, is not only contrary to the Rules of Morality, and that Integrity we ought to practiſe in obſerving our promi-

promiſes, but deſtructive of the true intereſt of State. And, Sir, to your misfortune, I remember very well, you concluded our laſt Diſcourſe with theſe words; *Theſe Gentlemen, ſaid you, have taken time to think of their Objections; 'tis fit, we ſhould take time to think of our Anſwers; 'tis enough for this day, that we have given them a hearing.* This, Sir, is a formal engagement you cannot recede from. You muſt furniſh me with Weapons to defend my ſelf, or rather reſolve to engage them without a ſecond: For I find my ſelf not able to bear any longer a part in the Action: I have a treacherous memory, and forget half what is ſaid to me. Every one pleads his Cauſe in Perſon with more Vigor and Succeſs, than by Proxy: You will be pleas'd to hear them ſpeak, and I beg it of you.

Par. You have by your Merit gain'd ſo abſolute an Empire over me, you may command any thing in my Power: I am eaſily perſwaded to enter into Diſcourſe with Perſons for whom I have entertain'd an Eſteem, upon the Character you have given of them.

Pro. Since you have been pleas'd to receive my propoſal in ſo obliging a Manner, I will confeſs the whole truth, and let you ſee I had that Confidence in your kindneſs;

I have taken the Liberty to appoint my Gentleman and his Lawyer their Rendesvouz at your house; they will be here in half an hour. I knew this to be your day of repose, and came before to see if you would receive us, and if I found you not at leisure to hear and to speak to us, I could have perswaded my Gentlemen to take a turn in the *Thuilleryes*.

Par. They shall be very welcome, and so shall any that comes with you; assoon as they are come, a Lacquay shall have order to stand at the door, and tell all that ask for me, I am not within. But, Sir, since you will engage me to day in a formal Combat, I will deal freely with you. I am not of opinion we should engage our selves to answer particularly all they have said to you; and you reported to me, That Method is fit only for the Schools, and would turn our Discourse into Wrangling and Pedantry. If you will be advis'd by me, we will raise a Counter-battery: Let us put them on the Defensive, and see how these Gentlemen, who would prove, the safety of the state depends on their preservation, can reconcile with this Maxim the danger they have heretofore put this Monarchy in; for, I aver it, that in threescore or fourscore years they have ten times brought the State

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to the brink of deſtruction by the diſorders they have caus'd, and the Wars they have rais'd in it.

Pro. You ſay well, Sir, that's their weak ſide, and I joyn in opinion with you, they are to be attaqu'd there.

Par. But to the Buſineſs of our Anſwer; have you not ſeen a Writing publiſhed not long after our laſt Diſcourſe, intituled, *A Letter from a Churchman to a Friend*? It was Printed at *Bruſſels* by *Francis Foppery*. 'Tis the very thing you want, being a full and pertinent Anſwer to all the Complaints contain'd in the Petition they intended to preſent to the King.

Pro. You may believe, that having had a deſign theſe twelve Months paſt to be perfectly informed of this great Affair, I have not fail'd to furniſh my ſelf with that Piece; I have read, and brought it with me, believing it might be of uſe in the Subject we are to examine. But what is your judgment of it?

Par. I ſay, he hath written like a man of ſenſe, and conſider'd well what he ſaid: And to tell you my mind, I look not on this Author, as an Author without Miſſion and without Call, as a private Perſon who of his own head publiſh'd a Libel againſt the *Hugonots*; 'twas a buſineſs deſign'd:

That unknown Writer was put on by the ſame perſons that conſtantly ſolicit the King to ruine the *Hugonots*, or by the Agents of the Clergy.

Pro. If I may be allowed to add to the Judgment you have given, I could wiſh, that Writer had in ſome particulars weighed better what he ſaid, and dealt more ingenuouſly. For inſtance, where the *Hugonots* complain, *That in ten years three hundred of their Churches have been demoliſhed*, that Author anſwers, *This is quickly ſaid, but hard to prove; for we aver,* Pag. 6. *that there have not been forty of their Churches demoliſh'd within theſe ten years*: If we are call'd to juſtifie this, we cannot do it: I know that in the Province of *Poitou* alone, near forty Churches have been demoliſh'd. And if that Paper was written by Order of the Clergy, as you conjecture, I wiſh they had taken care not to contradict themſelves: In the Aſſembly of the Clergy at *Paris* in *May* laſt, where the Biſhops at Court had Order to debate the affair of the *Regale*, and the matter in Controverſie between the King and the Pope; The Agent of the Clergy who open'd the Aſſembly, ſaid in his Harangue, that the King had demoliſh'd an infinite of Churches: Infinite, (according to Mr. *Church-*

Churchman) is confin'd in very narrow bounds, being reduc'd to forty. But I heard a knocking at the door, and am much miſtaken if it be not by our Gentlemen; they are the very Men.

The Hugonot *Gentlemen.*

I know not, Sir, what you may think of us, who, ſtrangers as we are, come boldly into a houſe ſo conſiderable as yours, without having asked your leave; eſpecially ſince we are come with a ſet deſign to quarrel the Maſter of the Houſe, and oppoſe his ſentiments. We have reaſon to fear we ſhall not be very welcome; But there ſtands a Gentleman by you hath undertaken we ſhall; if we have preſum'd too far, he is to bear the blame.

Par. Perſons of your Civility are welcome in any place. And as to the Declaration of War you have made againſt me at your entrance, I am not afraid of it; there is no danger, Sir, of any blood to be loſt in our Quarrel; I am of Opinion, whoever is vanquiſh'd will not be troubled at it: I apprehend your meaning from the Diſcourſe I have had with this Gentleman, who hath given me an account of what paſs'd betwixt you and him.

Pro. My dear Friend, I am reſolv'd to be even with you to day: You have taken a ſecond who is abler than I. And I ſhall engage you with a man too hard for you both. God grant, your Defeat be ſo happy, as to diſpoſe both of you to Converſion: You ſhall have no more to do with me, you are in good hands; take my word for it, I will henceforward be only a hearer.

The Hugonot *Lawyer.*

Since the Gentleman accepts the Challenge with ſo good a Grace, he will not be diſpleas'd, if I pray we may go into his Study, which doubtleſs is well furniſh'd; for I foreſee we ſhall have occaſion in our Diſcourſe to have recourſe to ſome Books.

Par. With all my heart Gentlemen, we will go where you pleaſe, my Study is but indifferent, but I believe we ſhall find there all the Books we ſhall need.

They go into the Pariſians *Study, and after a turn or two take their ſeats, and proceed in their Diſcourſe.*

By what I have heard from this Gentleman, who hath procur'd me the pleaſure of

of ſeeing you, I conceive, Gentlemen, you approve not of the Deſign the King hath to reunite the Religions in his Kingdom, and are not pleas'd with the Means he makes uſe of.

Hug. Law. Sir, We have more reſpect for the King, then to preſume to judge of his Conduct and condemn it: But we cannot but ſee, that thoſe who give his Majeſty the Counſels on which the Conduct againſt us is grounded, are the greateſt Enemies of the State. All the Jealouſie of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, all the Forces of *Spain* and of *Germany*, will never do *France* ſo much miſchief as theſe Politick Bigots.

Par. You have an ill opinion of our zealous Catholicks; Methinks, the name you give them is not ſuitable to them. Beſides, it hath ſomething of Contradiction in it; you call them Politick Bigots. Devotion is ſeldom joyn'd with Policy: The Politicians of all ages have been always oppoſite to the Bigot and Devout.

Hug. Law. Really, ſir, they may very well be call'd Bigotted Politicians, when their Devotion and Zeal for the Ruine of the poor Proteſtants is a meer piece of Policy; their lives and their manners prove it clearly: There are ſome among 'em, to whom we do too great an Honour, if we think

think they believe there is a God. I have known ſome Intendants of the Provinces, who had no Religion at *Paris*, but became on the ſudden in their ſeveral jurisdictions very zealous Perſecutors of the *Hugonots*. May there not be found among thoſe of the Councel of Conſcience ſome Perſons for whoſe Piety, you Sir, would ſcarce paſs your word? I mean Biſhops that keep Concubines; Monks, that are become Courtiers and Effeminate, and theſe Complacent directors of Conſcience, who approve of all Actions, ſo the Proteſtants be deſtroy'd, the Proteſtants; the light of whoſe Doctrine is too piercing and clear, and expoſes too much the vileneſs of the Actions of their Perſecutors, reproaches their Conduct, and torments them in the very uſe of their pleaſures. Is true Devotion conſiſtent with maxims of Morality, ſo looſe as thoſe of our greateſt Perſecutors? But ſo runs the ſtream; thus men make their Court, 'tis the Mode, and all the World follows it.

Par. I eaſily believe, there are men of the Character you have given. But I am perſwaded there are of thoſe Saints (or Bigots as you call them) who are really devout. And I am clear of opinion, they are not Enemies of the State as you ſay:

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They conceive unity of Religion the greatest good imaginable, and that it would be the Glory of the King to procure this good to *France*. And this I take to be the Principle they build upon, and the ground of their Actions.

Hug. Law. I am of Opinion, Sir, those men may very well be call'd Enemies of the State, whose Conduct tends directly to its ruin; who inspire into his Majesties Subjects a mutual hatred, which obliges them to look on one another as Enemies. After that the late King *Lewis* the 13*th.* of glorious Memory, had, by the Method he took to appease the late Troubles, taken away the fear the Protestants were under, that there were designs not only against their Liberties, but their Lives, it may be affirm'd, the hearts of those of either Religion were so perfectly reunited, it was impossible for the Enemies of the State to find a breach to enter at. But the King hath been made to tell us in one of his Arrests, that the Kindness and Patience he had had for his Subjects of the pretended Reform'd Religion, had heightned the aversion of his Catholick Subjects against them. The Aversion the said Catholicks have always had against the said Religion, and those who profess it, hath been encreas'd

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by the publiſhing the ſaid Edicts, Declarations and Arreſts. It is really very neceſſary, the King ſhould be inform'd, that contrary to what he hath been made believe, the Edicts of Pacification had eſtabliſh'd a perfect peace between both Parties, and that happy union hath been conſiderably alter'd, ſince the conſiderable Breaches that have been made of thoſe Edicts. The Roman Catholick reſumes that ſpirit of Animoſity he formerly had; he looks on the Proteſtant as a Victim ready to be ſacrific'd to his pleaſure, and juſtifies by the Conduct of his Superiors, the Averſion he hath for his Countrymen and fellow Subjects: The Proteſtant on the other ſide looks on the Roman Catholick as an Enemy who endeavours to ruin him. He is full of diffidence, and miſtruſts every thing: He dares not ſpeak, nor open his mind freely: He is afraid of being queſtion'd for a Word: His Bowels are ſhut up againſt the poor Roman Catholick, to whom he us'd to be very open-handed: And he cannot forbear ſaying to himſelf, doth Charity oblige me to feed an Enemy to day, who, perhaps will take away my Life to morrow? The poor *Hugonot* in every Village looks upon his Magiſtrates and Superiors as men authoriz'd to watch all occaſions to deſtroy him.

him. The Magiſtrates think themſelves obliged to be harſh and ſevere to thoſe who are hated by the Court. They tell us every day, we have Order to humble and mortifie you: You may expect what you pleaſe, but expect no favour. Heretofore the ſaying was, you ſhall have Juſtice done you, but hope not for more. Alas! 'Tis long ſince we have been in a Condition to expect any favour. We ſhould now be very well ſatisfi'd, could we have Juſtice done us; for Juſtice requires men to keep their Promiſes: We ſhould eſteem our ſelves happy enough, if permitted to enjoy peaceably the Priviledges and Liberties confirm'd to us by ſo many Promiſes, Edicts and Arreſts. You cannot believe it in our Power to look upon our approaching ruin, without being troubled the ſame time to ſee others rejoyce at our fall. The injuries and reproaches the *Hugonots* receive from the inſulting Roman Catholicks pierce to the heart, and make deep wounds which bleed afreſh every day. In a word, that ſweetneſs of Commerce and fair Correſpondence that raign'd among the Subjects of *France* is broken and loſt, and inſtead of mutual Confidence, nothing appears but a general fear and univerſal miſtruſt: The Tumults in ſeveral places, the demoliſhing

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and burning of Churches, the Seditions rais'd againſt the Proteſtants, the injuries done their Perſons for two years paſt, are convincing Proofs of what I alledge. And matters were carryed on with ſo furious haſt, the King found himſelf oblig'd to ſtop the Torrent of theſe Violences by an Arreſt. You are not ignorant, Sir, how neceſſary it is for the peace of a State, that the Inhabitants of a Kingdom be united among themſelves by the Bonds of Amity.

Par. 'Tis for that very reaſon, Sir, the King would reduce all his Subjects to one Religion: By ſuffering two different parties in a State, you ſowe the Seed of immortal Diviſions: You know the troubles the *Guelfes* and the *Ghibellines* caus'd in *Italy*; they that would maintain the peace of a State, muſt ſuppreſs the very Name and Memory of Factions.

Hug. Law. 'Tis not with Sects in Religion as with Factions in the State, the caſe is very different. Factions of State may be ſuppreſs'd by good Conduct, and deſtroy'd by time; yet a conſiderable time is neceſſary for doing it; the Example you have mention'd of the *Guelfes* and *Gibellines* ſufficiently proves it: Thoſe Factions raign'd ſeveral Ages; nor could the Name be extinguiſh'd but after hundreds of years, and the

the deſolation of *Italy* by the fury of the Parties. But to take away the difference of Sentiments in Religion is a more difficult task. Fire and Faggot, Gibbets and Axes ſignifie nothing; this appears clearly by the Hiſtory of the laſt Age. We muſt bear with a miſchief we can neither prevent nor remove, and nouriſh Peace between two Parties which cannot be deſtroy'd, but may be preſerv'd by permitting the difference, and maintaining a War between them: This ſeems a Paradox, but is not ſo difficult as you may imagine. Provided the ſtronger Party oppreſs not the weaker, 'tis certain the weaker will have for the ſtronger a kindneſs and value for the Toleration indulg'd; And the ſtronger will permit it ſelf to be won by the kindneſs and grateful acknowledgments of the weaker: 'Tis a matter try'd and of freſh Experience. Every one knows the Union the Catholick and we *Hugonots* liv'd in, before they inſpir'd the King with a deſign to deſtroy us.

Par. This method of preſerving Peace is not ſo ſure as you imagine. But I could heartily wiſh a true remedy could be found for the greateſt miſchief in a State, which is, the Diſunion of its Members, and the Animoſity raigning between the Subjects of one Soveraign. *Hug.*

Hug. Law. You will grant me then, Sir, that thoſe who blow up the fire, and revive theſe Animoſities, are great Enemies of the State. And this they are evidently guilty of, who inſpire into the King, Sentiments of Rigor and Severity againſt the Reformed. But, alas! The matter is yet more ſad; they are not ſatisfied with endeavouring to take from the King all the goodneſs and kindneſs he once had for us; but they labour all they can to root out of our hearts the Love, the Reſpect, the Veneration and the Tenderneſs we have for our King. I aver it, we love our King even to adoration; we are ſo clearly convinc'd of his ſublime Qualities, it adds infinitely to our grief, to find our ſelves ſo ill thought of by a Prince, for whom we have ſo much Zeal and Admiration. Is it in the power of Man to love and to fear at once the ſame perſon? Oh! how ſhall we do it? We are told every moment the King hath a deſign to deſtroy us: He is repreſented to us with his Sword in his hand ready drawn for our ruin. 'Tis Publiſh'd, 'tis Printed, that if he live ſo long, as by courſe of Nature 'tis preſum'd he may, he will ſee our Religion at an end.

Proceſs verbal of the Aſſembly *March* and *May* 1682.

If God preſerve to us this great Prince, ſo long as all good Peo-

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ple ought to wiſh, he will utterly ſuppreſs this Monſter in his Kingdom. What means this but to caſt us into a general Conſternation, with deſign to ſtifle and deſtroy the love we have for our Prince, and to make us look on his Life, as the greateſt of our misfortunes? They muſt have a great ſtock of Regeneration who can love thoſe they eſteem their Enemies; yet all means poſſible are uſed to perſwade us the King is the greateſt Enemy we have. As to the Conſternation, they have attain'd their ends; 'tis general and ſo great, it cannot be greater. Yet hitherto the Love we have for our King, ſtands firm againſt this horrible Conſternation, becauſe we have yet ſome hope the King will permit himſelf to be mov'd by our Prayers and Patience. And if diſappointed in this, we will apply our ſelves to God for Grace, not to do any thing contrary to our duty.

Par. To tell you the truth, they ſlight you ſo much now adays, they value not at all your Love or your Hatred.

Hug. Law. Ah, Sir, ſay not ſo; I know well enough thoſe are the Sentiments they would inſpire into his Majeſty. But to a Prince ſo ſage, and ſo good as ours, it cannot be a matter of indifferency to be belov'd by his Subjects. *Oderint dum metu-*

ant, (Let them hate ſo they fear me) is a word for a Tyrant. I am ſure, the King cannot endure the thought of having in his Kingdom two millions of Subjects, who ſhould obey him only out of a ſlaviſh fear. He is the common Father of his Countrey, and I cannot but believe he takes us all for his Children.

Par. You have no great reaſon to think ſo, to deal ingenuouſly with you, the King takes you not for very good Subjects; and means have been uſed to make him ſenſible, you are troubled at his Victories, and that you fear the ſucceſs of his Arms and Deſigns, no leſs than every good *Frenchman* loves and prays for it.

Hug. Law. 'Tis true, Sir, this is the Character they give of us to the King, and endeavour to perſwade us to believe to be true; for by the uſage we have at their hands, and the Speeches they give out of us, they labour to make us ſenſible, that the Grandeur of the King will be fatal to us, and that having humbled all his Enemies, he will imploy his Forces for our ruin; they would perſwade us, that our preſent ſufferings are but an effect of former Threats. The King, ſay they, is become the terror of his Enemies, and the delight of his Subjects; he fears nothing. And having

having not now any other imployment for his Power, will force you headlong into Ruine. Ah! Sir, if we were ſo unhappy (as we are repreſented) to behold with trouble the Glory of the King, it would become them to ſtudy to reclaim us by changing their Conduct. For what can give more trouble to a good Prince, than to think he hath in his Countrey a great number of his Subjects oblig'd to lament his Victories, to mourn amidſt the publick Joyes, and to look upon the Proſperity of the State as fatal and pernicious to their private Concern; being aſſur'd when the State hath not other buſineſs, it will turn its whole Force againſt them? If we believe one God, and one Providence, we ought to be perſwaded, that God is mov'd by the Vows and Prayers of men, and that the moſt unanimous Prayers are the moſt Efficacious. 'Tis the Intereſt of a Prince to uſe all his Subjects with equal kindneſs, that the Union of their Hearts, and Harmony of their Prayers, may bring down the Bleſſings of Heaven on the State. But there cannot be a greater Calumny and Falſhood, than to affirm we are troubled at the Proſperity of the State. Hath any one of thoſe of our Religion, who have had the Honour to ſerve the King in

his Armies, been guilty of Cowardiſe or Baſeneſs whatever? Hath any of them fought with leſs Zeal, appear'd leſs Brave, or done leſs for the Victory than others in the Army? What ſigns are there we are not pleas'd with the publick Proſperity? What Cauſe have we given for any to think ſo? The truth is, they deſcribe us ſuch as they would have us to be, and ſuch as they who accuſe us would be, if they were in our Caſe: But God gives us the Grace to retain true *French* hearts, to rejoyce at the Grandeur of the King, and to leave to Providence the ſucceſs of our private Affairs.

Par. 'Tis true, you have cunning enough to put a good Face on your Matters, and to colour your Deſigns with appearances of Loyalty, but you have in your hearts a hidden inclination to revolt.

Hug. Law. But is it fit to charge the Innocent with the blackeſt of Crimes without Proof? 'Tis ſaid we have a ſecret diſpoſition to Rebellion. How do they prove it? What do they mean by it? In my Opinion, the Deſign of Rebels is to change the form of Government of a State, as the Fanaticks did in *England* by *Cromwell*, or to call in a ſtranger into the Countrey, and ſubmit to new Dominion. I know but

theſe

theſe two ends of Rebellion; for to make Inſurrection for Inſurrections ſake, to raiſe Tumults for no other end, but to make a buſle, is a Deſign fit only for Fools and Mad-men. Can we be lyable to the leaſt Suſpition of the former? Have we given by any of our Actions, any colour to believe we deſire a change of the preſent form of Government, and to ſee the Monarchy turn'd into a popular State? What ſhould we get by it? Can we promiſe our ſelves greater ſafety, when expos'd to the Authority and Fury of ſo wild and unreaſonable a Beaſt as the Multitude? As to the ſecond, what advantage can we expect by changing our Maſter? Are we deſirous to be under the Dominion of *Spain*? Do men think we ſhall gain by the ſhift? Or do they believe we have ſuch Maggots in our Brains, as to deſire the *Engliſh* may abandon their Iſles, and come once more and conquer our Continent? Or that the *Hollanders* quitting their Marſhes, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of this Kingdom? Nothing but Frenzy can make men capable of Chimæras as theſe; ſo that they who charge us with being Enemies to the State, have as little ſenſe as Charity in their Cenſure.

Par. I perceive by my friends eyes, he burns with impatience to propoſe his Objections out of a Book in his hand.

Hug. Law. What Book is it?

Pro. 'Tis the Letter of a Churchman to a Friend.

Hug. Law. I know it very well, without hearing more of it; I have read that Libel, and eaſily comprehend what Objections may be rais'd out of it: But, Sir, give us leave before we enter into that great affair, to finiſh what we have begun. The Apology you obliged me to make, hath put me out of my way; for we began, with proving that the Enemies of the Reformed, are Enemies of the State. I have already made it appear, by ſhewing, that they diſunite the Kings Subjects, that they root out of the Kings heart, the Fatherly kindneſs he had for us; and endeavour to root out of ours, the Love we have for the greateſt of our Kings. This concerns the Vitals of the State; it attacks the Principles by which it ſubſiſts: For the bond of Love between the King and his Subjects, is that which unites all the parts of this great and vaſt Body. But 'tis fit I repreſent to you thoſe horrible Calamities theſe Enemies of *France* would plunge the Kingdom in. They would bring back again the laſt Age, and

revive

revive the Reigns of *Henry* the 2*d.* and *Charles* the 9*th.* In a word, they would ſet up new Gibbets, and kindle new Fires againſt the Reformed. Can *France* expect a great Miſchief?

Par. Y'are much miſtaken Sir, there's no ſuch intention. Some *Zealots* may deſire ſuch a thing; but the King hath not any ſuch Deſign.

Hug. Law. I believe you Sir, We know the Goodneſs and Clemency of the King, and that he naturally hates all Violence. We ſee every day the Prudence of his Miniſters. But men are led where they never had intention to go; they are mov'd by degrees to revoke all the Edicts of Pacification. If Matters be carryed on with that Violence they have been for ſome years, and eſpecially within few months paſt, the Buſineſs will be quickly at an end, they will ſhortly perſwade the King, three fourths of the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom are converted: They will tell him, the reſidue is nothing, or not worth the thinking of; And ſo prevail with him to ſuppreſs the Edicts. Thus ſhall near two millions of Souls remain debarr'd the exerciſe of their Religion: 'Tis a violent State, in which Conſciences cannot ſtay long: The Miniſters ſhall be forbidden to Preach on pain of death:

Yet they will Preach, (as before in the like caſe) in Caves, and Woods, and Cellars, and Darkneſs. And inſtead of preaching in a few places, they will preach in every place. It cannot be, but they will be diſcover'd, exerciſing a Religion prohibited by the State, and incur the Penalties to be inflicted by the late Edicts. And according to the Severity of thoſe Penalties they will be Impriſon'd, Baniſh'd, Hang'd. Conſider how much it will grate the good nature of the King, to ſee himſelf oblig'd to permit his Subjects to be put to a thouſand Tortures, for no other reaſon but having a deſire to ſerve God. I foreſee Matters may be carryed yet farther. Among two or three hundred thouſand Perſons able to bear Arms, remaining ſtill of that Religion, 'tis impoſſible but there is a great number of Fools, impatient and deſperate: In plurality of Voyces, Fools are always too hard for the Wiſe, who are often oblig'd to permit themſelves to be carryed away with the ſtream of the major Vote. Such heady and impatient People, inſtead of Submitting, will Mutiny, make Parties, take up Arms. And then will the King be forc'd to draw Rivers of Blood out of the hearts of his Subjects.

Par. Ay, Ay, Sir, there is great cauſe to fear you you are in a powerful and formidable Condition: Where are your Chiefs? where your ſtrong Towns? Where your Money? Where your Forraign Allyances? You have nothing to ſupport you, but the indulgence of our Kings.

Hug. Law. Pardon me if I tell you, you do not apprehend me; my deſign is not to put you in fear, but move you to pity. I do not ſay, but the King may with all the eaſe imaginable, diſſipate the Forces of any Faction that ſhould rebel againſt him. I am fully convinc'd of it, not only by your Reaſons, but ſome ſtronger Arguments. You ſay the Reformed have neither Chiefs, nor Towns, nor Money. Have you forgot that ſaying of the Poet, *Furor arma miniſtrat?* Fury never wants Weapons, they who have no Towns, may take ſome. Thoſe who want Money, may Rob and Plunder. Deſpair can effect what Valour and Courage never durſt undertake. A State that has lying cloſe in its Bowels two millions of Male-contents (though but Women and Children, and the dregs of Mankind) is in danger of ſuffering terrible Revolutions. After the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*, the *Hugonots* had none to head them. *Dandelot* was dead,

dead, the Admiral aſſaſſinated, all the Flower of their Nobility murther'd, and the Princes of the Blood Priſoners, yet they never ſpoke bigger, never inſiſted on higher Terms than then. But I expect not any benefit to the Reformed from ſuch Revolutions, becauſe God never bleſſes the deſigns of defending a Religion by Arms, of Rebelling againſt our Prince, and making War under pretences of Piety: The furies of Civil War being abſolutely inconſiſtent with Charity. Such heady and impatient people by taking Arms will act againſt the Principles of Religion, and (I aver it) particularly againſt the Principles of the Reformed: They are to expect no other ſucceſs, but to be maſſacred by the People and the Arms of their Soveraign: They would occaſion (as heretofore) millions of Innocents to periſh with them. The King would certainly maſter them, but would be griev'd to ſee his Countreys drown'd with the Blood of his Subjects: What greater misfortune than this to a Prince ſo good-natur'd as ours? Beſides, a State buſied in reducing rebellious Subjects, is in a manner abandon'd to ſtrangers; who fill and tear it in pieces with Factions, foment Diviſions, take advantage of Diſorders, and draw Blood from all

parts

parts of it, while it ſelf opens the Veins on every ſide. Thoſe Gentlemen who conſtantly ſolicit the King to Rigor againſt us, are certainly weary of the proſperity of the State; they have no mind to ſee *France* any longer the moſt flouriſhing Kingdom of *Europe*: They would bring back that Age wherein the Realm divided againſt it ſelf, call'd in the Duke of *Parma*, the *Flemings* and *Spaniards* to enrich themſelves with the pillages of the Towns, and deſolation of the Provinces.

Par. I ſee, Gentlemen, the alarm you have taken, hath ſtirr'd your fancy, and put you in a heat: You go on too far, and too faſt, there is a deſign to Ruine you; 'tis conteſt, but 'tis by undermining you by degrees: Thoſe very men you call Enemies of the State, have no mind to ſee the effuſion of your Blood.

Hug. Law. Were thoſe men guilty of no other miſchief, but a deſign to deprive the King of ſuch a multitude of faithful Subjects, they very well deſerved to be call'd Enemies of the State. I hope thoſe of the Reformed Religion will never permit themſelves to run into the Extremities I ſpoke of; But they will do all they can to go ſeek in other Countreys, the peace and the quiet they are denyed in their own. I

have

have told you already their Consternation is great and universal. And all the considerable persons of our body seek only a Gate to go out at, and a means to remove out of his Majesties sight the Objects that displease him.

Par. I cannot think they would be much troubled at your departure out of the Kingdom.

Hug. Law. Whether they would be troubled I know not, but I very well know they would have cause enough to be troubled. The Count *de los Balbazes* during his stay at *Paris*, being in company of several Ministers of forraign Princes, they fell in Discourse of the Conduct of the Court of *France*, as to the *Hugonots*. He exclaim'd against the Policy of the Cabinet, and said, that for the good of the State it matter'd little what Religion the Subjects were of, provided they were Loyal and dutiful to their Soveraign; that a like Conduct had turn'd some States belonging to the King his Master, into vast Deserts and Solitudes by the expulsion of the *Moors*; who were a remnant of *Jews* and *Mehometans*, multiplyed and spread over the Provinces of *Castille*, *Valentia*, and *Andalusia*. They had been baptiz'd, and to escape the Inquisition, made profession

of

of Christianity, but privately us'd the Worship of their Ancient Religion. Upon some false advice given *Philip* the second of *Spain*, of a great design the *Moors* had against the Christians, they were expell'd the Countrey. They were not permitted to carry any thing away, but some Commodities of *Spain*, but were forc'd to leave behind, their Gold, and their Silver, as well as their immoveables. This was executed with extreme Rigor: There went out of *Spain* twelve hundred thousand Men and Women; the greatest part whereof perished several ways; *Spain* having been well drained of men by sending Colonies into *America*, was so exhausted by this great Evacuation, 'tis not repeopled to this day. And that Countrey which was heretofore one of the fairest of Europe, is now a vast and barren Desert, and the *Spaniards* feel at this day the smart of their Barbarity. God grant a like misfortune happens not to *France*, and that it make not it self desolate by an expulsion of two millions of her best Inhabitants: I cannot think those who endeavour it are much her friends.

Par. However, Sir, I am of Opinion the persons you speak of, take themselves to be as great lovers of their Countrey, as you,

or

or any of your Party; And if the matter be disputed, I very much question, whether you will carry the Point.

Hug. Law. I find all I say to you, doth but vex, without convincing you. But you will excuse the Expressions of miserable persons, who have not the Liberty to speak in Publick; they may be allowed at least to complain in Private, and when they can do it without danger. Since you are not pleas'd with a Discourse tending to demonstrate, that the Enemies of the Reformed of *France*, are Enemies of the State, I will trouble you but with a word more on that Subject: You cannot but believe that Forraign Allyances are of some importance to *France*. You understand the Politicks so well, you cannot be ignorant, a State without Allyes is not capable of doing great things. This makes Princes labour perpetually to break those Engagements their Neighbours have with their Enemies, and to perswade them to espouse their Interests. The greatest part of the Allyes of *France* are Protestants: The *Swisses*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the King of *Swede*, and heretofore the *Hollander*, who perhaps may again renew his Allyance. But can you believe to use the Protestants of *France* as they are dealt with at present,

a proper means to engage ſtrictly the Proteſtant Allyes of the Crown?

Par. I do not ſee the King finds any great difficulty in making Allyances with Proteſtant Princes, or that they concern themſelves much, or trouble his Miniſters with your pretended Calamities.

Hug. Law. The King is now in ſo elevated a Condition, that all comply with him. Yet the private diſguſts of his Allyes are ſtill in being, though they do not appear: They are Seeds that will certainly ſpring up ſooner or later. States are not always in a flouriſhing Condition; when Fortune declares againſt them, old grudges break out. 'Tis not to be imagin'd, men can, out of Policy, wholly deveſt themſelves of love to their Religion, and become altogether inſenſible of the Calamities they ſuffer whom they call Brethren, though the preſent State of Affairs may oblige them to diſſemble. 'Tis very well known, the Allyes I have named, have heretofore concern'd themſelves in our Calamities, though far leſs than thoſe we now endure: 'Tis not their Affections, but the Times are chang'd. The *Engliſh* naturally hate the *French*, and find new reaſon to hate them in the rigorous Proceedings of the Catholicks of *France* againſt the Proteſtants there, who pro-

profeſs the ſame Religion with the *Engliſh*: To prove that ſtrangers are ſomewhat concern'd for our Calamities, I need but read the Letters of his Majeſty of *England* to the Biſhop and Mayor of *London*; they are newly publiſhed, and you will not repent your reading them, being Letters worthy the Piety of that Prince, and capable to clear him from any unjuſt ſuſpitions that might have been had of him in reſpect of his Religion.

His Majeſties Letters to the Biſhop of *London*, and the Lord Mayor.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor, HENRY *Biſhop of* London.

CHARLES R.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Our Right truſty and Well-beloved Counſellor, We greet you well. Whereas We are given to underſtand, that a great number of Perſons, and whole Families of Proteſtants in the Kingdom of France, *have lately withdrawn themſelves from thence, to avoid thoſe hard-*

ſhips

ſhips and extremities, which are brought upon them there for the ſake of their Religion, and have betaken themſelves into this Our Kingdom as a place of Refuge, where they may enjoy the liberty and ſecurity of their Perſons and Conſciences. And whereas moſt of them, if not all, having been forced to abandon their native abodes and accommodations in haſte and confuſion, muſt needs be in a great meaſure deſtitute of means for their preſent ſubſiſtence and relief: We being touched with a true ſence and compaſſion of their deplorable Condition, and looking upon them not only as diſtreſſed Strangers, but chiefly as perſecuted Proteſtants, very deſirous to extend Our Royal Favour, and Protection towards them, not doubting but all Our good and loving Subjects will be alſo willing and forward on their parts to afford them what helps and comforts they can in this their day of Affliction. We do therefore in very eſpecial manner recommend their Caſe unto your pious Conſideration and Care, hereby requiring you, forthwith to give Directions unto all the Clergy of our City of London, *and parts adjacent, that in their ſolemn Congregations upon the next Lords day, or as ſoon as may be poſſible, they repreſent the ſad ſtate of theſe poor People, and by the moſt effectual Arguments of Chriſtian-*

ſtian-charity, excite their Pariſhioners to contribute freely towards the ſupply of their neceſſities. We ſhall not need to preſs you in this behalf, well knowing your Zeal in ſo good a work, which will be no leſs pleaſing to Us, than We are ſure it will be acceptable to Almighty God. And Our further Pleaſure is, that you take care that the Moneys ſo collected (which We expect ſhould be forthwith returned into your hands) be diſtributed in ſuch manner as may beſt anſwer thoſe ends, for which this Collection is intended. And ſo We bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at Windſor *the* 22d. *day of* July, 1681. *In the Three and Thirtieth year of Our Reign.*

By his Majeſties Command,

L. Jenkins.

To Our Right truſty and Well-beloved Sir *Patience Ward* Knight, Lord Mayor of Our City of *London.*

CHARLES R.

RIght Truſty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Being given to underſtand that very many Proteſtants, and even whole Fami-

Families, finding themſelves under great Preſſures and Perſecutions in the Kingdom of France, *for the ſake of their Religion, have choſen rather to leave their native Country and Conveniences, than to hazard the Ruine of their Conſciences, and therefore great numbers of them are come, and more are endeavouring every day to come into this Kingdom for Shelter and Security. We are very deſirous that here they ſhould not only meet with all kind Reception, but alſo with that Benevolence and Charity which may in ſome reaſonable meaſure contribute towards their preſent Relief and Comfort in this their Affliction. To which end, We have ſignified Our Pleaſure to the Biſhop of* London, *requiring him to give Directions unto the Clergy of that Our City, and places adjacent, to repreſent the ſad Condition of theſe poor People in their ſolemn Congregations, and alſo to excite their Pariſhioners to the free and chearful Relief of their diſtreſſed Brethren. But as we cannot have too many hands employed in ſo good a work, ſo We have thought fit to recommend the ſame unto you alſo, that by your encouragement and endeavour, Our good Subjects inhabiting in that Our City, may be induced and obliged to a more than ordinary demonſtration of their compaſſion and liberality on*

this Occaſion. And ſo We bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at Windſor *the* 22d. *day of* July, 1681. *in the Three and Thirtieth year of Our Reign.*

By his Majeſties Command,

L. Jenkins.

The Hugonot *Gentlemen.*

YOU know without doubt, that the King of *England* proceeded further in our favour; declaring all the perſecuted Proteſtants (who ſhould come into *England*) Denizens of his Kingdom. And that all thoſe who ſhould tranſport their effects thither in Merchandiſe, ſhould import them Cuſtom-free; and whereas the Collection for the *French* Proteſtants in *England* was at firſt made only in the City and Suburbs of *London*, the King hath commanded it ſhould be made throughout the Kingdom. Nor is it *England* alone opens its arms to receive the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of *France*; They are entertained in all places of Europe: The Duke of *Hanau* hath offer'd to receive four hundred

dred Families; *Swede* and *Denmark*, tho very remote, declare themſelves ready to embrace the ſcatter'd Remains of the Proteſtant Churches of *France*. The Charity of *England* towards them is very edifying, yet I confeſs, I am not equally ſatisfied with all other Proteſtants who might afford Refuge to their perſecuted Brethren: I have ſeen ſome of them return'd as Perſons in deſpair from places where they had promiſed themſelves ſupport, reſolv'd to hazard all, and run again into the temptation they had fled from; being ſo ſcandaliz'd with the cold reception and hard uſage they had found, that they were ready to hearken to the ſolicitations of the Miſſionaries.

Hug. Law. I confeſs, the carriage of ſome ſtrangers towards our perſecuted Proteſtants appear'd to me quite contrary to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity: And if it continue, what will become of ſo many poor Peaſants and Tradeſmen, who groan at this day in ſearch of the means to have liberty of Conſcience? What will become of ſo many eminent Perſons, who will be oblig'd to quit their Countrey naked and deſtitute, to follow Jeſus Chriſt, and can carry nothing with them, but their Lives and their Conſciences? What can be more

Lamentable, than to ſee how cold mens Charity and Zeal is? 'Tis more deplorable than the Perſecution. What is become of that ſpirit of our Anceſtors, that made them have all things common among them? That render'd every private Perſon ſenſible of the publick Calamity: In the beginning of the Reformation, if thoſe Proteſtants, who were in peace and ſafety, had done nothing for thoſe who were under Perſecution, the Light of the Reformation had been long ſince put out in moſt places of *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, and *France*.

Hug. Gent. Mens Charity, I hope, will be awaken'd again to do ſomething for God and themſelves: For, in truth, the Compaſſion the Proteſtants in ſafety ſhould expreſs for their afflicted Brethren of *France*, is but a good Office done to themſelves. There is not a Proteſtant State Neighbouring on *France*, but is under apprehenſion of its Arms, and hath cauſe to fear it may one day feel the miſeries the Reformed of this Kingdom groan under now: Where-ever the King carries his Arms, thoſe wicked Councellors who perſwade him to ruine our Religion, will carry their Counſels, and make uſe of the Fortune of this great Monarch to accompliſh their deſigns.

ſigns. This may give them who at preſent are in ſafety, cauſe enough to fear they may not always continue ſo. It would become them to merit a Compaſſion they may one day ſtand in need of, by exerciſing Compaſſion towards thoſe who are actually in miſery. But above all they ought by Works of Mercy, and the Exerciſe of fervent Charity, and ſtrict Union among themſelves, to divert the Wrath of God that threatens them; and to endeavour to eſcape the greateſt of Misfortunes, the loſs of Liberty, and oppreſſion of their Conſciences. I cannot forbear adding, that the Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation, than the Children of Light, and that their Zeal not only upbraids, but may juſtly make us aſham'd of our coldneſs: 'Tis difficult to expreſs the great pains the *Roman Catholicks* take, they ſpare no coſt to make Converts, as they call them. There are very conſiderable Funds aſſign'd for the Maintenance and Encouragement of thoſe they have perſwaded to change their Religion. The King allows out of his Revenue, vaſt ſums for gaining and recompencing theſe new Converts: We have known lewd Women converted big with Baſtard Children, who had Penſions of four or five hundred Livers allow'd them. 'Tis

a Prodigy to me, that we are not willing for the ſupport of poor diſtreſſed Proteſtants, to be at that expence they of the other Party are at, for perverting of Souls. I wiſh, all Proteſtant States would imitate the principal Towns of the *Low Countreys*, which give Lodging in a manner *gratis* to all thoſe who fly thither for Refuge; beſides immunity from Pariſh-Duties and Charges levyed for the uſe of the Town, and furniſh with Money and Goods thoſe that have none, till they are in a Condition to ſubſiſt by themſelves, and make great Collections in their Towns for that purpoſe.

Hug. Law. Though all that could be wiſh'd, is not every where done for thoſe who leave their Countrey to ſave their Souls, yet ſufficient is done to make it appear, that the Kings Proteſtant Allyes and Neighbours, are much grieved at the ill uſage of their Brethren; and that diſguſted with the preſent Conduct of our Miniſters in that Point, they long for an Occaſion to ſhew their Reſentment: I cannot imagine upon what account our Ruine can be look'd upon as advantagious to the State: I will not trouble you with a repetition of the Reaſons we gave the laſt year, to convince the King of our inviola-

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ble Fidelity, and conſequently, that he is concern'd to preſerve us no leſs than any other of his Subjects: I make no queſtion, but you have heard all our Remarks on that Subject.

Par. Yes, Gentlemen, I have heard them, and think it needleſs to inſiſt further on that point: Time will ſhew who are in the right, you or we. Counſels are juſtified or condemned by the Event: Unfortunate Valour is branded for Raſhneſs, and fortunate Raſhneſs commended for Valour. If the Miſchiefs you foretel happen to the State according to your Prediction, it will be judg'd you were in the right; but if a way be found by fair means, and without effuſion of Blood, to bring you again into the boſom of the Church, you will be oblig'd to acknowledg our Conduct, not altogether ſo imprudent as you imagin'd; therefore without looking further into the future, I will conſider only the preſent, and muſt ſay, I do not ſee what great cauſe you have to complain. You will find it a hard task to perſwade us you are miſerably and rigorouſly dealt with, when we ſee you in full peace, enjoy every man his Eſtate, and the fruit of his Labour: I will not mince the Matter to you, by denying all we can ſhall be done for deſtroying

ſtroying your Religion, but with exception of your Perſons and Eſtates which ſhall be ſpar'd : Is not this fair, and ought you not to reſt ſatisfi'd ?

Hug. Law. Ought we not to reſt ſatisfi'd, ſay you ? Sure, Sir, you take us for People whoſe God is their Belly, who believe not a future State, but place all their happineſs in preſent enjoyments. The Principal is taken from us, our Religion and the Liberty of our Conſciences, and you would have us remain content with the reſidue. And what is that reſidue, you ſay, ſhall not be meddled with ? Our Eſtates and our Perſons : Are not our Perſons meddled with, when they exerciſe a thouſand Cruelties, and commit infinite Outrages to make us change our Religion; when they ſtrip us of all means to live, when they reduce us to a neceſſity of ſtarving, or turning, by declaring us uncapable of employment, and excluding us from all Offices and Profeſſions, and from the exerciſe of all Trades we could get a livelyhood by : When Gibbets were ſet up in every corner to hang us on, and Fires kindled for burning us, we were allow'd the choice of going to Maſs or of dying. Are we not reduc'd now to the ſame choice by their taking from us all means of living?

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Are we not in as bad a Condition as heretofore? We muſt dye or change our Religion: 'Tis true, the death now propos'd is not hanging or burning as formerly, but I am not yet reſolv'd, whether is more eligible to dye in a moment on a Gibbet, or pine to death by a long train of Miſeries.

Par. You are not wanting to your ſelves in ſetting out to the height the miſery of your condition; But leaving out the figures and aggravations of your pathetical Deſcriptions, the reſt will ſignifie little.

Hug. Law. Do you call it Figure and Aggravation to be in our condition, expecting every day the thunder-bolt of a new Arreſt for demoliſhing our Churches, and depriving us of the Liberty of worſhipping God Almighty? You complain to this day of the Outrages committed upon your Churches and Images in the heat of the Civil War: If our Churches were deſtroy'd by Violences as thoſe, we ſhould have the Comfort of being able to preach on the Ruins of them, and hope to ſee them rebuilt when the Kingdom ſhould be at peace. But we loſe all, not only our preſent Poſſeſſion, but all hopes for the future. We are forc'd to grieve at heart for Calamities for which there is no Reme-

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dy: I ſay, to grieve at heart, for 'tis Criminal for us to make the moſt innocent complaint. Periſh we muſt, and under a Formality, and appearance of juſtice: Be our Defence never ſo good, what evidence ſoever we produce in our favour, we are ſtill in the wrong, our Poſſeſſion is unjuſt, and hath no right to ground it. They are not ſatisfi'd with taking away our Eſtates, but they brand us for Uſurpers: How prodigiouſly bold is the Libel in your hand, to challenge us to ſhew one Church demoliſh'd that was a Church at the time limited by the Edict, when nothing can be more notorious than that (of the great number of places of Religious Exerciſe lately interdicted) perhaps there are not two that can be any way ſuſpected to have been ſet apart for that uſe ſince the Edict of *Nants*. This is clear by the Tables of our Ancient Synods, where we find a greater Number (by half) of places for Religious Worſhip, than we have at this day. We had them at the time the Edict was made, elſe how could they appear in Acts of the Synods paſt at that time? By the Edict we are to continue in peaceable Poſſeſſion of all we then had, and what we then had, is now taken from us, contrary to the expreſs terms of the Edict, and all the rights of Poſſeſſi-

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on and Preſcription. For beſides their Arreſts *ex parte*, wherein they pretend we have Liberty to make our Defence, yet condemn us unheard, they extort from his Majeſtys Declarations that ruine us, that reduce us to Extremity, and run us into Deſpair.

Par. Pray, Sir, which are thoſe ruining Declarations?

Hug. Law. I need not tell you Sir, what they are: They are too publick to eſcape the knowledg of a Perſon ſo well acquainted as you are with the World: There are Volumes made of them, and our good friends of the Clergy cram their Studies with Collections of them. They ſet up the Title of them in Triumph; *Arreſts paſſ'd againſt the* Hugonots *by the Solicitation of the Clergy of* France: Our late Calamities are ſo grievous, they make us forget the former: Do but call to mind the Declarations publiſhed againſt us within twelve months laſt paſt, and you will ſee whether our Complaints are but figurative and pathetick Aggravations.

Par. Thoſe Declarations are not very many.

Hug. Law. They are not quite as many as the weeks in a year, but half a dozen more ſuch would quite undo us: Have we

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no cauſe, think you, to complain of the Declaration that orders the Judges or others appointed for that purpoſe, to go viſit our ſick at the point of death, to know what Religion they will dye in?

Par. What harm in that? Every man may die of what Religion he pleaſe: Thoſe that viſit you, put no force upon you, but ask you a Queſtion or two and leave you.

Hug. Law. The fault I find with it, is, that it opens a gap for all ſorts of Seduction and Violence. By the Declaration, every door muſt be open'd to the Magiſtrate; he enters attended with a Curate, and a Miſſionary: The Arreſt excludes not the Relations of the ſick from hearing them examin'd: It neither orders them to withdraw, nor orders the Examination to be taken in their preſence. But a Law muſt always be favourably interpreted: And that the ſick may be at liberty to ſpeak their thoughts, their Friends and Relations muſt be put out of ſight: By this excellent Conſtruction of the Arreſt, they get the ſick perſon into their hands, force the Husband from the bed of his Wife, and the Wife out of the Arms of her Husband, the Child from his dying Father, and the Father from his Child: Having clear'd the Room

Room and ſecur'd themſelves from fear of a Witneſs, they promiſe, they threaten, they frighten a dying wretch and load him with injuries: they take advantage of the diſorder of his faculties occaſion'd by his ſickneſs, and the fright he is in to ſee ſo many new Faces about his Bed. A word ill plac'd, and unwary expreſſion (the effect of a high Feaver or Frenzy) is laid hold on, as ſufficient ground for Mr. Curate to cry aloud, *Mr.*— or *Mrs.*— *is willing to dye a Catholick*: Upon this, the ſick perſon is taken into their care, his Kindred and Friends remov'd from him, and he made believe, he is perfectly converted. By this Artifice he gives up his laſt breath amidſt Croſſes, and Tapers, and Images and Crucifixes, and other Utenſils of a Church, into which they ſay he is entred, though he knows nothing of it. When he is dead, they bury him with like Pomp, they take away his Children in their Infancy, they ranſack his Houſe and leave his Family deſolate.

Par. The Arreſt neither ſays, nor means any ſuch matter.

Hug. Law. I know not whether the Arreſt have any ſuch meaning: Perhaps his Majeſty who paſs'd it, had not: But I am ſure this was their meaning who obtain'd it:

it : It appears by their practice pretended, purſuant to it : Till our days, a mans Houſe was his Caſtle, and private habitations were inviolable Sanctuaries ; Where every one (taking care, not to offend againſt Law) had free permiſſion to do what he pleas'd, at leaſt, had the Priviledge to dye undiſturb'd. But now we are not allow'd to live in quiet, or to dye ſo : Our Enemies have in this particular invented a new kind of Cruelty, unheard of even in the Ages of Perſecution and Martyrdome : If in thoſe days men were oblig'd to live in the Emperors Religion, they were permitted to dye in the Chriſtian : Can any thing be imagin'd more cruel than the uſage we find ? A ſick wretch in his laſt Agonies ſtruggling with death, hath need of more ſtrength than his own to maintain the Combat : The ſmootheſt Calm, and greateſt Tranquility of Spirit is little enough to put him in a Condition to face thoſe Terrors that uſher in the laſt moment of his Life : 'Tis ſome comfort to a man in that caſe to breathe his laſt in the Arms of his Wife, or Embraces of his Children : They cheriſh and help him, he gives them his bleſſings : Amidſt theſe mutual Offices of Charity and Tenderneſs, all their hearts melt into Tears : The one and the other deſire privacy

vacy and quiet to vent their grief, and give free course to their just Lamentations. A Magistrate enters with all the Clergy of a Parish at his heels: The House is fill'd with noise and bustle: A croud presently gathers at the door, and with horrid noise and prodigious outcryes, grate the Ears of the dying Man: At this very time and in these Circumstances, he who hath scarce strength enough left to breathe out his Soul, must engage in a Conflict he was hardly able to maintain when in perfect health: He must answer; he must study and ponder what to say; he must consider how he may escape the Snares laid for him in captious and ambiguous Questions; he must sustain the shock of Threats, and encounter the influence and power of Authority. He must, for his Comfort, have the patience to hear an ignorant Curate, who to demonstrate our Religion false, shall use no other Argument, but that of repeating a hundred times in a quarter of an hour with a furious tone, that if he dye in that Religion, he is damn'd as a Devil; instead of his dear Children and Friends, he must be content to see about him a company of men, whose Eyes sparkle with rage, and whose Tongues (if he persevere in his Religion) thunder out Reproaches.

The Condition of a dying man ordinarily disarms the fury of an Enemy, who having given the mortal Wound, gives the man leave to dye in peace. Are the miseries of our Life so few, that we must be deny'd a quiet death? You have, doubtless, heard what happen'd in the *Fauxboarg St. Marcell*, since this Declaration: A poor Woman being very ill, through the violence of her Distemper talk'd idle: That very time the Commissioner and Priests enter her Chamber, turn out her Relations and Friends who assisted her, make her say what they please, and go their ways to fetch the Consecrated Bread and Oyl for extreme Unction. That none in their absence might get into the Chamber, they lock the Door and take the Key with them. The Woman in the mean time coming to her self, was frightned to see a Cross standing at her Beds feet: She presently gues'd what had happen'd in her Fever; she rises, and designing to get away, runs to the Door: finding it lock'd she resolves to go out at the Window, too great an adventure for one in so weak a Condition. Endeavouring to get down, she fell from the third story, and lay dead with the fall on the Pavement. A more lamentable Accident could not have

have happen'd, except that at *Ville dieu*, a Village of *Poitou* ſome months ſince: The Curate and Church-warden went into the Houſe of an old Man who lay ſick; they turn'd his Children out of doors, threatning them furiouſly, if they came near the Houſe, they ſhould hang for it: The poor Fellows frightned with Perſecutions they had already endur'd, retir'd into the Woods, and durſt not approach the Houſe: In their abſence, the Perſecutors teaz'd the old Man ſeveral days: But he had the Senſe and Courage to reſiſt their Tentations, who finding at length they could not prevail, quitted him: The poor man left thus without help, was ſtarv'd to death, and was found dead, having eaten his hands.

Hug. Gent. You have told your ſtory, give me leave to take my turn, and acquaint you with one I heard but a few hours before I came hither: In *Montpellier*, two Maids, the one ſick, the other in health, renounc'd our Religion in one day; ſhe that was ſick had done it in the height of her Fever: Being come to her ſelf and hearing what had paſs'd, ſhe was ſo griev'd, ſhe fell again into her Frenzy, and flung her ſelf out at a Window: The other who was in health had no ſooner committed the fault, but ſhe repented it: She proteſted,

ſhe had been ſurpriz'd, and could not live in the Religion they had newly made her embrace. Having made this Declaration, ſhe was put into a Covent, where ſhe found a Well, into which ſhe threw her ſelf: Such are the natural Conſequences of the Declarations procur'd againſt us.

Par. If this be true, why do you not complain? Juſtice will be done you.

Hug. L. Juſtice, Sir! Of whom ſhall we demand it? Of the Magiſtrate, in whoſe preſence theſe Outrages are done. Of the Soveraign Courts? Which take pleaſure in making our Yoak the heavier. Of the Miniſtry? Who pretend they believe not a word we ſay. Of the King? Who will not give us the hearing.

Par. If this Declaration be executed with Moderation and Equity, what cauſe to complain of it? For ſince you are allow'd to live in quiet, and at the end of your Life, are ask'd only what Religion you will dye of, what can be more clear, than that without any intention of Ruining you, great care is taken of your Salvation, and that it is heartily wiſh'd for?

Hug. Law. Can you believe, Sir, that thoſe who have ſolicited and ſurpriz'd his Majeſty to make this Declaration, have done it out of Love to our Souls, and

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Care of our Salvation? I make no doubt, but uſe was made of that very pretence to induce the King to it, His Majeſty being uncapable of a baſe thought or mean deſign. But I am too fully convinc'd, thoſe who firſt ſuggeſted it to the King, have very ſmall care of the Salvation of our Souls. There are many of them have no care of their own, how then ſhould they take care of other mens? Others of them have ſuch animoſity againſt us, that if they ſaw us at Hell-gate, and had it in their power to thruſt us in, they would certainly do it: But, to ſpeak in cold blood: Let me perſwade you on this occaſion to make uſe of your uſual Sagacity: How can you imagine, thoſe who ſolicited this Declaration, aim'd at the Salvation of mens Souls? Why ſhould they think, that a man who all his Life long hath been of the Reform'd Religion, ſhould deſire at his death to turn Roman Catholick? If this man had had any ſuch thought, it ſhould have been made appear in his Life: 'Tis far better living than dying in your Religion: For that which you call Converſion, makes a man capable of Imployment and Office, it opens him the way into Dignities and great places, to Gain and great Fortune: What can be more evident, than that a man diſ-

pos'd to turn Catholick, would, for the reason I have intimated, not ſtay till his death, but do it in his life-time, and as early as he could? But a man in his life hath perhaps a care of his reputation, or is clogg'd with Intereſts that oblige him to diſſemble; but at his death he ſlights ſuch reſpects, he breaks all ſuch bonds, knowing that though he hath lived for others, he muſt die for himſelf. This were a good Argument in a Country where the Roman Catholick Religion is prohibited: but in *France* where it is predominant, where it makes uſe at this time of its advantages with a high hand, a man hath all encouragement imaginable, with all the freedom he can wiſh, and probable hopes of extraordinary recompence, to declare at any time his inclinations to quit our Religion: Perhaps thoſe Gentlemen were of opinion that God inſpires many people at the hour of their death, who, ſhould they recover, would conſtantly follow the notions they are then inſpir'd with. True it is, Sir, you know we live in an Age of Miracles and extraordinary Inſpirations! We find them very numerous! Moſt of thoſe who perſecute us have great faith for Inſpirations! In a word, if this Declaration extended only to thoſe who in their life have made appear ſome inclination

tion to alter their Religion, it might be thought the desire of their salvation occasioned these visits: But these visits are made to all, without exception to them who all their life-long have been most firm and resolv'd. I would gladly know what new illumination an old firm *Hugonot* can be suppos'd to have from a plain single question ask'd by a Magistrate in a civil and gentle manner? and if none, whether there be not some other design in the business? Is the asking of such a question look'd upon as a powerful instrument of the Holy Spirit for the conversion of an Heretick? Have we any Presidents of Conversion by such means? 'Tis clear then that the Declaration strictly pursued according to the Letter, is not of any use to make a man change his Religion; and it is equally clear that they who sollicited that Declaration, being men of sense, did not in the least design by it the conversion of dying men, or the salvation of their Souls.

Par. I would fain know what other design they could propose to themselves in it.

Hug. Law. 'Tis not hard to guess; the Clergy hath a design to load us with miseries, and to render our Religion odious to us by a multitude of calamities attending it: The happiness of Mankind here on

Earth consists in the pleasures of Life and Liberty, to die quietly: they have already found out a thousand ways to render our lives miserable and unpleasant, and invent every day new means to continue them so: there wanted nothing but a means to trouble us at our death, to make our yoke insupportable: And they have hit upon't in this Declaration. Besides, having very small hopes of converting (as they call it) Fathers or Mothers, or any person at the age of discretion, they levell'd their design against Children and Infants: To compass this, they could not have invented a more effectual means than that they are furnish'd with by this Declaration, whereby if they can but make believe a man died a Roman Catholick, they make themselves Masters of all the Children he left under age. To bring this about, it was necessary to open a passage to the Beds of the Dying: it was necessary to have liberty of entrance into any house, which could not be had without the authority of the Soveraign: the Kings goodness permitted him not to grant all they desired (and had obtain'd by the Declaration in 1666. since revok'd in part, and in part mitigated by that of 1669.) which was, that the Curates should have liberty to enter any house to perswade the

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Sick to change their Religion. They attempted afresh to revive this Article; but disappointed of their ends, they rested satisfied with what was granted them, which was, that the Judges should go into the houses of the Sick to know what Religion they desir'd to die in: they thought it sufficient for their purpose, if they could by any means get mens doors open, after which they would take the liberty to enter whether leave were granted them or not. It hath happen'd accordingly; for this (we see) is the course taken, which puts the Sick into horrible agonies, and their Families into terrible frights.

Hug. Gent. I see you are of their opinion who hold they have a design to seize upon our Children.

Hug. Law. Alas, Sir, can you doubt of it? if the Declaration against the dying had not sufficiently convinc'd you; if the Arrest that prohibits the Midwives of our Religion to lay any woman; if the permission granted to the Midwives of the Roman-Catholick Perswasion to baptize our Infants as soon as they are born, had not given you cause enough to support it; I believe you will not require clearer demonstration than the late Declaration so much talk'd of; by which they are im-

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powr'd to take from us our Children at Seven years old. A terrible Declaration to Fathers and Mothers: A Declaration will make us take the reſolution to throw our ſelves at the Kings feet, to beg of him that he will take away our lives, or allow us the liberty of our Conſcience and our Children, or leave to go naked out of his Kingdom, to live diſpers'd through all Countries of the world till we pine to death.

Par. The Declaration orders no more, than that at Seven years old Children ſhall be of age to chooſe their Religion. Is this ſuch a matter to be exclaim'd at? The Declaration of the Children ſhall be receiv'd, but no violence offer'd them.

Hug. Law. Is this a matter to be exclaim'd at, ſay you! Pray Sir ſhew me in Hiſtory one Example of ſuch a Perſecution, one Preſident of a Grievance of this nature, that denies Parents the liberty to inſtruct their Children in their Religion. Was it ever heard of, that Children ſhould have power given them to make choice of their Religion at an age they are incapable to diſtinguiſh between black and white; an age to be perſwaded to any thing with a Plum or an Apple; an age to which the beſt Arguments are the fineſt Rattles to play

play with? No Violence, ſay you, ſhall be offer'd the Children: Is it not a violence and wrong to the Parents, to have their Children ſeduc'd and taken away from them? What need of Violence to be us'd againſt Children of that Age which are eaſily perſwaded to any thing? The Violence is done to the Parents, whoſe Children ſhall be taken away from them, as ſoon as ſeduc'd to declare themſelves inclin'd to be *Roman Catholicks*: In a word, On what account ſoever Children ſhall be forceably taken out of the Boſoms of their Mothers, never to return; Can you call it a ſmall Matter, a ſlight Buſineſs, againſt which there is no cauſe to exclaim?

Par. Once more I affirm it, the Declaration ſays not, your Children ſhall be taken from you.

Hug. Law. I confeſs, it does not: Yet they who are entruſted with the Execution of it, will do it. And the Declaration was deſir'd and obtain'd for no other end. Shall I propheſie to you the iſſue of this Declaration, as I have been your Hiſtorian, in giving you an account of the Conſequences of that which concerns the ſick. It ſhall be preſently given out, there is no Violence deſign'd. Order ſhall be given by word of mouth to the Magiſtrates,

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not to permit any to be done. The Priests in a while will not at all regard these Prohibitions, though perhaps at first they will observe some measures, and content themselves, (it may be) with engaging (by Oath in Confession) all the Women, particularly those of mean condition, as the Servants in our Families, to endeavour all they can to seduce the Children, by Promises and private Instructions, and all other means useful to that purpose : For a Hobby-horse, a Child will be made to say, he hath a mind to go to Mass : Two Witnesses shall be ready to swear it : The Child shall presently be taken away, never to be seen again by the Parents : Yet they must pay an extraordinary rate for the Board and Instruction of the Children taken away : Thus will they kill two Birds with one stone; take away the Children, and ruine the Parents, to force them by Poverty to quit their Religion : In a short time they will proceed farther; they will find a pretence to enter our Houses : They will have receiv'd News from very good hands, the Children have a great inclination for the Catholick Religion, but that their Parents are harsh to them for it : They will enter by Authority from the Magistrate, and .. out the Parents and Relations : Having

ing the Children alone, they will ſay what they pleaſe: The holy Spirit will inſpire them in a moment, and diſſipate thoſe thick Miſts of *Calviniſm*, that darkned their tender underſtandings. It will on the ſudden make them ſo clear ſighted, they will in a moment diſcover all Catholick Truths; and muſt preſently be lock'd up in Cloyſters, to be educated there till they come to maturity ſufficient to reſiſt a Father and Mother, and proof to the perſwaſions of Friends, and influence of Relations.

Par. This, I grant, is already ſo obvious, that I ſhall make no ſcruple to acknowledg it. You perhaps may be permitted to dye in your Religion, but care ſhall be taken to bring up your Children better. And this is the principal means to be us'd for deſtroying your Sect.

Hug. Law. We ſee it very clearly, Sir, The Arreſt againſt our Midwives, that which orders the Magiſtrate to viſit our ſick, and this laſt Declaration have put it out of doubt; and you call this Sir—— 'Tis a Proceeding you will be puzzl'd to parallel in the moſt barbarous Countries and Ages of the World: It violates the moſt ſacred and moſt venerable Laws: It ruins the Foundation of Authority, by de-

ſtroying the Paternal, which is the moſt Ancient, the moſt Juſt, the moſt Venerable, and the ground of all other: Probably, Sir, you have ſeen the Memoires and Petition we preſented to the King on this Subject: The many injuſtices of that Declaration are ſo fully made out by the Petition I mention'd, I will forbear enlarging on them here: They are Injuſtices that fly in our Faces: Can we be ſilent where nature ſpeaks? Is there a greater cruelty than to rob Parents of their Children? 'Tis a mutilation that puts us to ineffable Torment: Tis an uſage unthought of in the Age of Torture and Maſſacre: And will you ſay ſtill, we have no cauſe to complain? we are not put to extremities? You may believe, Sir, that in taking away our Children they tear our very Bowels: And that the Puniſhments we formerly endur'd, are nothing to this: The Conſequences of it you will ſee ſurprizing and horrible: The tenderneſs of Mothers, the Sentiments of Religion, and the Fury of Anger, mixt together are a Compound, capable to produce terrible Effects. I fear you may ſee examples of Fury equal to thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Women, who finding their Children were to be forc'd from them to be baptiz'd, deſtroy'd both the Children

and

and themſelves to prevent it. 'Tis a new kind of Torment will diſpeople *France* more than all the Maſſacres of the laſt Age: For all thoſe among us who love their Religion, will certainly endeavour to ſave themſelves by retiring out of the Kingdom, though it were ſure they ſhould periſh in the Attempt: Good God! What a ſpectacle will it be to ſee the Children violently taken away from their Parents! What Cannibal heart can be hard enough to endure the ſight of Mothers bath'd in Tears, cover'd with their own Blood, ſcratching their Faces, tearing their Hair, beating their Breaſts, Sighing, and Groaning, and making hideous outcryes after thoſe who rob them of their Children, calling them Hangmen, Robbers, Villains, and other opprobrious Names, dictated by extremity of Fury raging in the tender Soul of a Mother.

Par. I cannot deny, but the Catholicks themſelves were ſurpriz'd at this Declaration, and that it hath in it ſomething repugnant to the Laws of Nature: But great deſigns, how juſt ſoever, cannot be executed without uſing ſome unjuſt means: The wiſeſt Politicians are often oblig'd to do ſome ill that they may attain a greater good. The King hath a mind to have

all

all his Subjects reunited in one Religion. The design is excellent, but cannot be compass'd without use of violent means.

Hug. Law. Pray, Sir, tell me, Had not the Christian Emperors a design to have their Subjects all of a Religion? Did not they wish *Paganism* destroy'd? This sure was as excellent a design as the ruining of *Calvinism*: But did they take the like Course to attain the design? Before and in the Reign of *Theodosius* the Great, the Empire had embrac'd Christianity almost an Age. The Provinces, the Cities, the Armies, *Rome* it self was full of Christians: Yet the Senate of *Rome* was almost all *Pagan*, and by the Mouth of *Symmachus* pleaded before the Emperor, to dissuade him from demolishing the Altar of Victory that stood at the Gate of the Senate-house. Yet these Senators were not turn'd out, nor did any lose his Office for being a Pagan. *Symmachus*, as zealous as he was for Paganism, received from *Theodosius* the honour of the Consulship, the highest Office of the Empire. We do not read that the Children of *Pagans* were taken from them in those days, or had Liberty given them at seven years old to turn Christians against the will of their Parents: The Piety of the *Theodosii* and the *Constantines* never mov'd them to

act

act in favour of the true Religion ſuch a violence againſt nature: They did not in that Age underſtand it lawful to do ill, that good might come of it: The Impiety and Fury of the Perſecutors of the Church never ſuggeſted ſuch a thought: The Councellors of that Apoſtate Emperor who went ſo dextrouſly about deſtroying the Chriſtian Religion, were but bunglers to our Clergymen of the *Councel of Conſcience*, who ſurprize in a manner ſo ruinous to us, the greateſt Prince of the World. *Julian* deſtroy'd the Schools of the Chriſtians, and ſhut up their Churches, but it never entred his thoughts, to take away their Children at ſeven years old to be brought up in *Paganiſm*: Every rational man holds it a Maxim, that Religion is not to be impos'd by Command, but taught by perſwaſion. You have read the Book of Father *Nicolai* the *Jacopin*, intituled, *De Baptiſmi antiquo uſu Diſſertatio duplex:* In the ſecond Diſſertation he tells us, ſome Schoolmen hold, that *Jews* and *Infidels* may be compell'd to be baptiz'd. But 'tis helliſh Divinity, a Maxim of Executioners and Inquiſitors: Theſe ſottiſh Divines ground their Doctrine on ſome Examples, as that of *Chilperic*, who commanded the *Jews* to get themſelves baptiz'd, and impriſon'd one of them to

compel him thereto, as *Gregory* of *Tours* reports. *Aimoyn* writes, that *Dagobert* oblig'd them to it upon pain of Baniſhment: The Capitulars of *Charlemain* tell us, that Prince puniſh'd with death the *Saxons* who refus'd to turn Chriſtians: But Father *Nicolai* makes it appear, theſe were particular actions never approv'd by the Church. He quotes the Councel of *Toledo*, which diſapprov'd the Violence us'd by *Siſebut* in *Spain* againſt the *Jews*, in obliging them to be baptiz'd on pain of Whipping and Baniſhment. He ſhews further, that the Penalties ordain'd againſt *Jews* and *Infidels*, were not ſo much to force them to turn Chriſtians, as to puniſh them for Crimes otherwiſe committed: At laſt he proves, there is not in the Primitive Church any preſident for this Practiſe of compelling *Jews* or *Infidels* into Chriſtianity. Much leſs may you find an Example of the new kind of Cruelty exercis'd againſt us: If you meet with ſome Ordinances that command Infidels to turn Chriſtians, yet you will never find any Chriſtian Prince made a Law for taking from Jews and Infidels their Children, and hindring them to be inſtructed in their Religion.

Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 57. de Judæis, Ann. chriſti. 633.

Hug.

Hug. Gent. Yet, Sir, if I miſtake not I have read in the Memoires and Petition you mention'd, that a King of *Portugal*, call'd *Emmanuel*, order'd all Male Children of Jews under fourteen years of Age to be taken from them, and inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion.

Hug. Law. 'Tis true, but you are to obſerve, the Example is ſingle, that it is modern, being a Preſident but of the laſt Age, when the Church was very corrupt, and that it proceeds from the infernal ſource of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſs* Inquiſitions. In a word, he that reports it, though a Biſhop, had not the power to forbear ſaying it was a Jewiſh Courſe and unjuſt in the Execution, that it had not any foundation of Law or of Religion, though it ſeem'd to proceed from a good intention, and had an appearance of Piety. 'Tis *Ozorius* Biſhop of *Algarves*, who wrote a great Volume in twelve Books of the Life of *Emmanuel*, the ſecond King of *Portugal*. The Story is ſo pat, and the Reflexions of this Biſhop ſo proper for the preſent Conjuncture, I cannot forbear reading to you a Tranſlation I made yeſterday of the whole paſſage, though ſomewhat long. This Hiſtorian having repeated at large

the reasons of those who were for permitting the Jews to live peaceably in *Portugal*, and the contrary Arguments, goes on thus. " *Emmanuel* ap-

Osorius lib. 1. *rerum Emmanualis. Anno.* 1497.

" proving the latter Opinion, order'd all " *Jews* and *Moors* who would not embrace " Christianity to quit the Kingdom, and " appointed a day, after which those who " should be found within the Realm, should " be made Slaves, *&c.* The day drew near: " The Jews with great diligence prepar'd " for Embarquing : *Emmanuel* troubled " to see so many thousands persist obsti- " nate to Damnation, that he might at " least be instrumental for the Salvation of " their Children, bethought himself of a " Course good in the Intention, but unjust " in the Execution. He order'd all the " Jews Children of fourteen years and un- " der, to be taken from their Parents, and " secur'd at a distance to be brought up in " the Christian Religion : This could not " be done without terrible agitation and " trouble of mens minds : 'Twas a horri- " ble spectacle to see Children forc'd out of " the Bosoms of their Mother, and " wrench'd out of their Fathers Arms in " which they were lock'd. The Parents " were ill us'd and cudgell'd to make them

" let

" let go their hold. Every place ecchoʼd
" lamentable Cryes, the Women complain-
" ing ſo loud, their Voices reachʼd Hea-
" ven. Many of the miſerable Fathers were
" ſo movʼd at the atrocity of the Action,
" they flung their Children into Wells.
" Others were ſo deſperately enragʼd, they
" killʼd themſelves: To add more Calami-
" ty to this miſerable Nation, they were
" denyʼd leave to paſs into *Africk*: For the
" King very deſirous to bring them to Chri-
" ſtianity, thought to induce them to it,
" partly by hope of Good, partly by fear
" of Ill: ſo that, though he ſtood engagʼd
" by his word to permit the Jews to em-
" barque, he put them off from day to
" day, in hopes, time would make them
" change their Reſolution and Religion:
" This was the Reaſon, that though at firſt
" there were three Ports in *Portugal* ap-
" pointed them to embarque at, they were
" afterwards prohibited to embarque at
" any but *Lisbon*. This brought into that
" City an innumerable multitude of Jews:
" While they were ſhammʼd in this man-
" ner in the buſineſs of Embarqueing, the
" day came, on which all that ſhould be
" found in *Portugal* and would not turn
" Chriſtians, were by the Order to remain
" Slaves. The Ports were ſhut, ſo that a

" great number remain'd, who chose rather
" to change their Religion (sincerely or
" feignedly) than to be all their Life sub-
" ject to slavery: They turn'd Christians
" and were baptiz'd: After which they
" had their Liberty, and their Children re-
" stor'd, and spent the rest of their days
" very quietly in *Portugal*: This Action
" was not agreeable to the Maxims, either
" of Religion or Law. For with what
" justice will you endeavour to force mens
" spirits to receive Mysteries they slight,
" and have a perfect Aversion for? You
" would fetter mens understandings, and
" rob their Wills of their Liberty. 'Tis
" impossible to be done, nor does our Sa-
" viour approve of it. He requires a vo-
" luntary Sacrifice, and will not accept of
" forc'd Service: It is not his pleasure that
" Violence should be done to mens under-
" standings, but that their Souls may be
" fairly inclin'd, and their Wills won to a
" love of his Religion: To proceed in this
" manner, is to encroach on the right of
" the holy Spirit, and attempt that by hu-
" mane Power, which Grace alone is ca-
" pable to work in mens Souls, which
" yield at last to his holy Inspirations:
" 'Tis only the holy Ghost can illuminate
" mens Understandings, and invite and per-
" swade

" ſwade them into a Confeſſion of the " Name of Jeſus, and into the Communi- " on of Saints, when we reject not his " Grace with obſtinate ingratitude: To " conclude, can any thing be more mani- " feſtly oppoſite to the Spirit of Chriſtia- " nity, than to expoſe ſo many and ſo Ve- " nerable Myſteries, things ſo truly holy " and divine, to men under ſuſpition, and " evidently prophane? We never conſider, " how we force thoſe who hate in their " Souls the Chriſtian Religion, to commit " the higheſt Crimes they poſſibly can a- " gainſt Jeſus Chriſt.

It cannot be denyed, but theſe Reflections are ſage and judicious. 'Tis the Light of Reaſon breaking out of the midſt of Darkneſs: 'Tis good ſence flowing from its proper Spring, expreſs'd by the mouth of a *Portugueſs* Biſhop living in a Countrey, groaning under the Tyranny of a ſevere Inquiſition. Can you believe, this *Portugueſs* Biſhop could have approv'd of the laſt Declaration, that gives way to the ſeducing of a Child by a *Bartholomew* Baby, and then taking him away out of the Arms of his Mother? It makes me groan to think this Declaration may reach to *Conſtantinople.* I cannot but fear the Preſident may be fatal to the poor Chriſtians in the Eaſt,

and that the *Turk* will tread the ſteps of the Council of Conſcience at *Paris*: What a Deſolation will follow, if the Infidel Princes will ſeize the Children of the Chriſtians? Will not Chriſtianity by this means be quickly deſtroy'd throughout their Dominions? The *Turk* exacts a Tribute of Children from *Greece*, which that poor Nation thinks an intollerable ſlavery: But what will it be, if the like be practis'd in all Mahometan Empires, and not one Chriſtian Child ſecure in their Countreys? Whereas now, when one is taken out of the Family for tribute, they remain aſſur'd of the Poſſeſſion of the reſt.

Hug. Gent. Among all the Reaſons in the Petition againſt this Declaration, none affected me more, than that which ſhews, that Children of ſeven years of Age were never by any Law in any Age of the World, made ſubject to Orders of Courts, and Formalities of Juſtice: But if you compare the Declaration againſt the Relapſed, with that which concerns the Children, you will meet with Children of ſeven years old, who, having been regain'd by their Parents, ſhall be Impriſon'd, Examin'd on interrogatories, Confronted with Witneſſes, and Condemned to make honourable amends by walking bare-headed, and bare-

foot

foot through the Streets, with a burning Link in their hands to the ſeat of Juſtice, and asking pardon for their Crime. 'Tis a ſpectacle all *Europe* will rejoyce at for the Novelty: As for the Reaſons in the Petition grounded on his Majeſties Word and Arreſts, which had appointed the choice of Religion to be made at the Age of fourteen, they are now ſilly Arguments: True it is, they might have paſs'd for good in the Golden Age, but in ours, Men glory in the breach of their Promiſes, and value themſelves upon not keeping their words.

Par. Gentlemen, I confeſs, what you ſpeak of is a little ſevere, but you do not conſider whom it concerns.

Hug. Law. Sir, It concerns not his Majeſty, as you think. We know the Kings intentions are good, and that he ſees not the Conſequences of what they Act in his Name. But you will allow us to complain of thoſe who ſurprize his Piety, and of a Clergy who would incroach into their hands the principal management of the State: We ſee clearly their falſe Zeal will ruine us, but it will alſo reduce the Kingdom to extremitys. When Princes frame their Conduct by the Maxims of Monks and Jeſuits, they ruine their States: Witneſs

neſs the Affairs of *Hungary*: The Emperor poſſeſs'd by thoſe falſe *Zealots*, took from the Proteſtants all their Eſtates, and gave them to the Jeſuits. He hath baniſh'd their Miniſters, demoliſh'd their Churches, and expell'd them the Kingdom. Can you chooſe but admire this excellent policy of the Jeſuits? At the very doors of the *Turk* they reduce Chriſtians to ſuch extremity, they have no way of ſafety, but to throw themſelves into the Arms of Infidels. And now, that the *Grand Seignior* is at peace with *Muſcovy* and *Poland*, you will ſee how he will imploy his Forces, and what will be the Conſequence of the Counſels of the bleſſed Fathers of the Society of Jeſus: They are at this day Maſters of *Europe*, they govern all Princes, and are abſolute in all Courts: But it may be obſerv'd, that *Europe* hath reaſon to look on this day, as the Eve of her Deſtruction. *Germany* will perhaps be a Prey to the *Turk*, *England* a Theater of Fury, and *France* with all the puiſſance of the Genius that governs it, may fall into a condition I dread to imagine; for if they Arm the hand of our Soveraign againſt us, and perſwade him to ſpill the Blood of his Subjects, the State muſt be weakned, by having drawn from it the moſt faithful and trueſt French Blood in its Veins. *Par.*

Par. I am a Catholick, but none of those who are for Monks and Clergymens intermedling in Civil Affairs: Their buſineſs is to pray to God for the proſperity of the Kingdom; 'tis certain, that matters are but very little mended ſince theſe good men wriggled themſelves ſo deeply into Courts.

Hug. Law. But do you not admire, Sir, the boldneſs of the Jeſuits, and the uſe they make of it at Court by the man they have there at his Majeſties Elbow? They were baniſh'd *France* by Arreſt of the Parliament of *Paris*, being clearly convinc'd, they had by the hands of *John Chatell* attempted to murder *Henry* the *4th.* This Prince fearing a ſtab from them, call'd them in again by an Edict in *January* 1604. One Clauſe of the Edict was, *They ſhould be oblig'd to keep one of their Society, a* French-*man Born and ſufficiently Authoriz'd, to attend the King*, to ſerve him for a Preacher, and to be anſwerable for the Actions of the Society, that is, That there ſhould always be a Jeſuit attending at Court, as an evidence that all thoſe of his Society were look'd upon as diſturbers of the publick Peace, as Murderers of Kings, and Enemies of the State, one of whoſe Chiefs the Court would have always in its

Power,

Power, that he might be reſponſible for the attempts of his Fellows, and remain as an Hoſtage to receive ſuch Puniſhments as the Criminal enterprizes of his Society ſhould deſerve: This is the natural Character which from Father *Cotton* to Father *Le Chaiſe* ought to be given, according to the intention of the Edict, of all the Jeſuits that follow the Court. A Character that ought to make them aſham'd, and keep them continually humble: Inſtead of which, they are become Maſters of the Conſciences of our Kings, the Tyrants of the Church, and, we may ſay, of all *France*: This gave occaſion to Monſieur *de Mezeray*, to make this judicious Remark, *That this Condition annex'd to the Edict, inſtead of branding them, as they imagin'd who got it inſerted, procur'd them the greateſt Honour they could deſire.* *Philip* of *Macedon* was awak'd every Morning by a Page, who told him, *Remember you are a man*: I wiſh our cruel Enemy were awak'd every Morning with theſe words: *Remember you are here to be anſwerable for the Doctrine and Actions of thoſe, who teach, that Kings may be aſſaſſinated when diſobedient to the* Pope, *and inſpir'd theſe deteſtable Sentiments into* John Chatel, *and* Clement *and* Rava-

Dm. 6. Hen. 4. An. 1604.

Ravaillac, *and* William Parry, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, *and other Murtherers of our Kings, the Kings of* England, *and the Princes of* Orange *in the last Age and this.*

Par. I ſee you are no Friend of that good Father, and it muſt be confeſs'd he is not much yours.

Hug. Law. We find by experience, he is not much our Friend: And, (the more unhappy we) he hath as much Credit with the King, as Hatred for our Party. It ſeems the King cannot refuſe him any thing. Was any thing ever ſeen more terrible, than the Arreſt he had obtain'd, whereby our Miniſters and Elders were prohibited on pain of Corporal Puniſhment, to go into any Houſe, by night or by day on any occaſion, but to viſit the ſick: By this Arreſt as ſoon as a man was an Elder, he was excluded from the Company of all thoſe of his Religion. His Majeſty look'd on this as ſo ſtrange a ſurprize, that he thought fit by another Arreſt to explain this, and declare it was not his intention to hinder the Miniſters and Elders to viſit their Flocks. I will give you another inſtance how this man abuſes his Credit: The King upon the Complaint of his Subjects of the Religion of divers Violences, burning

of

of Churches, and other Outrages done them, pass'd an Arrest in *May* 1681. Prohibiting any Violence by Word or Action, to be done to the Reformed. A poor Minister of *Poitou*, in one of his Sermons, gave God thanks for having inspir'd the King with this Equity and Clemency: Father *Le Chaise* had news of it by Letter, and presently obtain'd another Arrest, which orders those to be inform'd against, who (in their Interpretations of this Arrest) should say, That the Exhortations made in the Kings name to the People to change their Religion, are not according to his intention: You are to observe, Sir, that the Exhortations made in the Kings Name in *Poitou*, are no other than strange Menaces, and extraordinary Outrages. And to prevent their being stopp'd by his Majesties Arrest, the Sieur *de Marillac*, and Father *le Chaise* thought fit to annul it by another Arrest, which will give way to all the Exorbitances his Majesty design'd to hinder by this.

Par. It hath been observ'd, there hath been for some months past, an extraordinary Emotion amongst you: What's the Reason of it?

Hug. Law. The Reason Sir? 'Tis because we see things hurryed on faster than we

we imagin'd: To tell you the truth, we have been long ſenſible of a Deſign laid to ruine us; but fancy'd, they would not have gone ſo roundly to work with us: We lull'd our ſelves aſleep, in hopes the Affairs of the State might occaſion a change in ours. But ever ſince laſt Summer, we look'd upon our ſelves to be very near Deſtruction. The ſuppreſſing our Colledges and Academies, convinces us effectually, we have not long to continue in the Kingdom; for if the King were willing we ſhould ſtay, he would allow us our Miniſters, and permit us to enjoy places neceſſary for Inſtruction.

Hug. Gent. Now you mind me of it, have you ſeen the Arreſt againſt the Academy of *Sedan?* if you have, you cannot but think them out of their Wits who draw thoſe Arreſts, making one of the wiſeſt Princes of the World ſpeak ſo ridiculouſly: They make the King ſay, he had granted the *Hugonots* of *Sedan* an Academy for inſtruction of their Children, and that they had abus'd his Grant, by receiving ſtrangers into their Academy: Have you ever ſeen an Academy ſtrangers were deny'd acceſs to? I admir'd at the confidence of theſe Penners of Arreſts in publiſhing falſities ſo groſs. I was wiſhing

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to ſee the Edict of Reunion of the Principality of *Sedan* to the Crown: I find it repeated there five or ſix times, that the King Confirm'd to them their Academy with all Rights and Priviledges they enjoy'd under their Princes: Is not the King Maſter of it? Is not his Pleaſure reaſon enough? Why then are ſuch notorious falſhoods impos'd on the World?

Hug. Law. I was more aſtoniſh'd at the Declaration, that gives all *Hugonots* who will turn Catholicks, three years reſpit for payment of their Debts: It will be eaſily granted, they have not in this been very tender of the Honour of the King, or of their Religion: Can any thing be more ſhameful, than to invite People to Converſion by turning Bankrupts, and ſolicit them to turn Bankrupts, by promiſing, that the Catholick Religion ſhall ſerve for a Sanctuary to protect them in their Cheats? There is not a diſhoneſt Tradeſman in *France*, who having three years reſpit, cannot in that time make over his Eſtate, abſcond or run away a little before the three years are expir'd, and cheat all his Creditors: This open's a gap to all thoſe frauds that deſtroy Commerce, and lay Families deſolate: Theſe are the Nets the Fiſher of the Goſpel caſts into the Sea,

to

to catch men for Jeſus Chriſt. But I return to the Gentlemans Queſtion, who ask'd, whence proceeded that ſtrange fright we appear to be in for ſome months paſt? Beſides the ſuppreſſion of our Academies; Beſides the Declaration that gives Children liberty at ſeven years of Age to change their Religion, we know it too well, that thoſe Bigots preſs'd for four or five more, and hop'd to obtain them before the end of the year. One to force us to kneel before the Hoſt: Another to forbid us uſing any Trade or Myſtery: A third to oblige us to permit our Children to be baptiz'd, and our Marriages bleſs'd by the Prieſts, under pretence of acknowledging your Baptiſm and Marriages effectual: This is the fatal Blow, the total Revocation of the Edicts of Pacification: This Alarm was ſpread all over *France*. The Proteſtants thought themſelves at their laſt Prayers: Every one conſidered how to get away. They were all upon the Wing, and are ready to depart as ſoon as the Blow is given.

Hug. Gent. The Declaration which gives Children liberty at ſeven years of Age to chooſe their Religion, hath made the King loſe in three months time above fifty thouſand Subjects: A Declaration that ſhall

forbid us the exerciſe of Trades and Myſterier, will empty the Kingdom of near a Million, and one that ſhall impoſe on us a neceſſity to kneel before the Hoſt, will ſend all the reſt packing : And ſo the State will be ſoon rid of the *Hugonots* : Whether this be ſuitable to the Kings intentions, I know not, but know very well 'tis not for his intereſt : If we had not the courage voluntarily to leave our Country, a Declaration that ſhall force us to kneel before the Sacrament, will make us abandon all. And it ſhall be in the power of a Prieſt, to make all the Reformed in his Pariſh run away. You know what happen'd at St. *Hippolite* : The like will be done every where elſe.

Par. I do not very well know that ſtory, but have heard ſomething of it.

Hug. Gent. I am not exactly acquainted with the Circumſtances ; the Subſtance is this. St. *Hippolyte* is the capital Town of *Cevennes*, inhabited wholly by People of our Religion : Thoſe of yours being ſo few there, that the Prieſt in his Pulpit cannot ſometimes without a ſoliciſm addreſs in the uſual Phraſe, my Brethren : The Clergy reſolv'd to ruine this Church of the Reformed : The Prieſt took the Sacrament to be carryed to a ſick Perſon, in the very moment

ment that the Reformed were coming out of their Church on a day of Devotion: He ruſhes into the midſt of the Croud, lays hold on the firſt he met, and forces him to kneel; the reſt ſlip away, ſome on one ſide, ſome on the other: The Prieſt continues bawling, and requires them to kneel. He ſtays as many as he can, to hinder their eſcape; and ſtrikes ſome with the Croſs he had in the other hand: This at laſt procur'd him ſome blows, and it was the thing he deſir'd: He informs, and (it being a buſineſs concerted) had his Witneſſes ready. Upon theſe Informations, the Court orders the Church of St. *Hippolyte* to be rac'd, never to be rebuilt; and to weaken the Party, baniſh'd twenty or five and twenty of the moſt conſiderable Families of the Town: That which is remarkable, is, that the Prieſts who rais'd this Sedition, is, as I am told, expell'd the Town. By this it is acknowledged, he was the firſt Author of the diſorder: Yet the Reformed are puniſh'd, as if they alone were guilty. I have not met with ſo rigorous a puniſhment for ſuch an Offence: When the Arreſt for adoring the Sacrament ſhall be paſt, the like will happen in all other places, as did at St. *Hippolyte*. You will hear of nothing but Outrages, and Blood ſhed,

and Impriſonments, and Proſcriptions and Puniſhments: A forc'd adoration of the Sacrament hath not any precedent in Chriſtianity. 'Twas the *Pagan* only would have compell'd the Chriſtian to adore what he did not believe to be God. This is to uſurp a Power over Conſcience, to require us formally to abjure our Religion, and to exerciſe the cruelleſt of Tyrannies over men. 'Tis making them Idolaters, Profane and Hypocritical all at a time: Idolaters, by forcing them to adore what they eſteem not to be God. Profane, in kneeling by way of Adoration, to that which in their hearts they deſpiſe and ſcoff at: Hypocrites, in worſhipping outwardly, what they do not inwardly: In a word, it juſtifies all the Violences of the Infidels againſt the Chriſtians. A great Miniſter ſaid not long ſince to one of our Party, who told him of this Arreſt we were threatned with; does it not become the Piety of the King, to cauſe all his Subjects to adore the God he adores? A *Turk* may uſe the ſame Argument in *Turky*, And would not ſuch a proceeding utterly extirpate the poor ſcatter'd Churches, that groan in the Eaſt under the power of the Infidels? We ſee we are within an inch of deſtruction. The wiſeſt courſe, in my opinion, will be

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to withdraw before the Blow is given: What think you, Sir, will all this come to? What are we to hope? What are we to fear?

Par. To deal freely with you, I believe you have not long to ſubſiſt; there is a ſettled deſign for extirpating your Religion: All the Edicts in your favour will be in a ſhort time revok'd. Some of you will leave the Kingdom, and the King will not be much concerned at it: The reſt will ſtay, and return into the Boſom of the Church in few years: You ſee what Progreſs hath been made in *Poitou* in few months: Fifteen or twenty thouſand Perſons are already converted. And when the Edicts are all revok'd, there is no doubt, but the buſineſs will be perfected with greater Expedition.

Hug. Law. Ah, Sir, Methinks you might have ſpar'd ſpeaking of your Converts of *Poitou!* The Subject is matter of Terror to our Religion, and of ſmall Credit to yours. If you deſign to have the *Hugonots* converted, as they were in that Province, 'tis no other than compoſing a Church of Rogues and Villains, and reviving in our days the age of Perſecution: In a word, never were ſo much baſeneſs and cruelty mix'd in one Action as in the

Practiſe made uſe of for thoſe numerous Converſions.

Hug. Gent. That, Sir, if you pleaſe, ſhall be my task: You will not deny me the pleaſure of telling a ſtory, which probably I know better than you: I have Friends in *Poitou* who inform me of all, and am well acquainted with the Deputies of the Province. I believe I know ſome Circumſtances you may be ignorant of.

Hug. Law. I ſhall moſt willingly give you the hearing, Sir, if theſe Gentlemen will do ſo too.

Hug. Gent. Firſt then, you are to know, that the Publiſher of the Gazetts ſwells extremely the number of theſe Converts: If you account them half or two thirds of what the Gazett ſpeaks, you may perhaps account them more numerous than they are. But the falſeneſs of the Calculation is not the thing I intend principally to inſiſt on: I confeſs the number of the Revolted is prodigious, and that ſo many Perſons have in ſo ſhort a time chang'd their Religion, without Inſtruction, without Preaching, without Diſputes, without knowing why is perhaps a thing not to be parallell'd in any Age. But that you may ceaſe admiring at it, I muſt acquaint you with the whole matter: Firſt you are

to

to know, that the Province of *Poitou* is the heavieſt charg'd with Taxes of any in the Kingdom, and conſequently the poor-eſt: Nothing can be poorer than the Peaſants there. I need not tell you, that meanneſs of Condition abaſes the Spirits, and takes away mens Courage, it dulls their Wit, puts out the very light of their Underſtanding, and makes men degenerate almoſt into Beaſts. For ten years laſt paſt, effectual Orders have been given, that the Peaſants living at diſtance from conſiderable Towns, ſhould not be inſtructed; their Churches have been rac'd, and their Miniſters taken away. Ignorance joyn'd with the extreme Miſery of their Condition, and Slavery hath made them Brutiſh, and capable not only of meaneſt thoughts, but the moſt baſe Actions: The Intendant *Marillac*, a Perſon who had not thriven very well in the World, applyes himſelf to the Bigots, the Jeſuits and their Patriarch, Father *La Chaiſe*, for repairing his broken Fortune. This man according to the Orders of thoſe he had ſold himſelf to, began at firſt with the leſſer Temptations: That is, he walk'd through the Province with his Purſe in one hand, and his Sword in the other. But at laſt, the *Myrmidons* he had pick'd out for his aſſiſtants with ſome piti-

ful Prieſts, paſs'd from Village to Village entring every Houſe, beginning with Threats, and ending with Promiſes. They told the poor Wretches, the King would have but one Religion in his Kingdom, that whoever refus'd to turn Catholick, ſhould be us'd with the utmoſt Severity and Rigor: But thoſe who would change their Religion, ſhould be well paid and live at their eaſe. Accordingly they fall a bargaining with thoſe raſcally Wretches; ſome valued themſelves higher than others: One among the reſt held out ſtoutly ſeveral days for ten Groats; they offer'd him a Piſtol, he ſtood out ſtifly, and would not bate them a Farthing of four Crowns: At laſt they gave him his price: This ſhameful Trade was driven in ſo ſcandalous a manner, that theſe Convertors had provided a multitude of Printed Acquittances, with Blanks for the Names and the Sums; which Blanks were fill'd with the Names of the new Converts and the Sums they receiv'd, in order to the giving an account to the Treaſurers of the Chamber of Accounts of the Converſion, whereof the Sieur *Peliſſon* is Preſident: Theſe Sums amounted not to much, for ſome of the Converts had not above ſevenpence wrapt up in a piece of Paper. But for recompence,

pence,

pence, immediately after their Converſion, they were diſcharg'd of Taxes, and freed from Quartering Souldiers, and all publick Payments: On this Rock ſplit a great number of thoſe Wretches, who fear'd the ſight of the Collectors of Taxes, as of ſo many Devils, and look'd upon the Priviledge of exemption from payments as their Soveraign Good, and chiefeſt Felicity: You may hear the account the Gazett gives, how thoſe Converſions were made: I have in my Pocket that of the 25*th.* of *April* 1681. 'Tis in the Article of *Poitiers*: "The "Sieur *Marillac*, Intendant of this Province, "applying himſelf continually with a great "deal of Zeal to the work of Converſion, "arriv'd the 28*th.* of the laſt month at St. "*Sauvan*, with the Sieur *Rabreüil*, Vicar-"General to our Biſhop. He receiv'd there "advice of importance concerning thoſe "of the Religion, and went away the "20*th.* from St. *Sauvan*, to haſten to the "place from whence he had the News: He "receiv'd there the abjuration of an incre-"dible number of Perſons. Afterwards "they return'd to *Poitiers*, and the Biſhop "much affected with the fruit of this Voy-"age, ſent Miſſionaries into thoſe parts to "inſtruct the New Converts.

Hug.

Hug. Law. Perhaps, Gentlemen, you obſerve not how new this Method of Converſion is: I aſſure my ſelf in all your reading, Sir, you have ſcarce met with any ſuch Convertors. Our Saviour underſtood not this way of Converſion: For had he known what belongs to it, inſtead of his twelve Apoſtles and ſeventy Diſciples, he would have ſent ſo many Intendants, ſuch as the Sieur *Marillac*: All the World would have been Chriſtian: To trouble our ſelves with Preaching to the Peaſants, that's a ſilly piece of buſineſs: Shew them Money in one hand and a Cudgel in the other, you make them Saints in a quarter of an hour; and ſhall convert more in a month, than St. *Paul* with his Preaching ever did in twelve. Heretofore in thoſe ſimple Ages of Primitive Chriſtianity, men made it their buſineſs to inſtruct before Converſion, to make them know and believe before they made Profeſſion, and often Catechis'd them ſeveral years before they were admitted to the Myſteries of Religion: But the Gazettier tells us, Monſieur *Marillac* underſtands better the Myſtery of Converſion; he knows how to convert numbers in a trice, and afterwards ſends Miſſionaries to inſtruct them.

Hug. Gent. Pray, Sir, Let us not make it a Subject of Mirth; thoſe of our Party have no cauſe to laugh at it, but to ſhed Tears, and Tears of Blood: Monſieur *Marillac* hath not been always ſo careful as the Gazettier tells us. I know from good hands, thoſe wretched Converts who have been made to abjure their Religion, have not been at all inſtructed: A Gentleman of Quality, a *Roman-Catholick*, aſſur'd me the other day with an Oath, that being at the Intendants, he ſaw there about two hundred Peaſants, who were come purpoſely to complain they knew not what Prayers to make, for they had been forbidden to ſay their old Prayers, and not taught any other; ſo that ſince they had been compell'd to be Catholicks, they had no Religion at all: The Biſhop of *Poitiers* one day in good Company rally'd theſe Converſions, calling thoſe new Catholicks Monſieur *Marillac*'s Converts: But this is not all.

The Intendant *Marillac* having taſted the ſweet of theſe Converſions, and finding Promiſes and Threats ineffectual to bring about as many as he deſir'd, reſolv'd to make uſe of more violent Means: He and his Agents had quickly ſcumm'd off (out of our Society) thoſe baſe Souls who had

had no Sentiment of Religion, and were capable of ſelling their Conſciences to him that bid moſt. The number of theſe Wretches was not ſufficient to ſatisfie the eagerneſs of this Converter. He caus'd Troops to come to *Poitou*, and Quarter'd them upon thoſe of the Religion only, and gave them Order to commit the worſt of Outrages, till they had forc'd their Hoſts to go to Maſs. He ſends Advice to the Inhabitants of a Burrough or Village, that within ſuch a time they were to change their Religion, or to receive a Garriſon: The Soldiers he Quarter'd liv'd at diſcretion, being Maſters of every Houſe they enter'd: Maſters, Horſes and Grooms muſt all be maintain'd as they pleaſe: Beſides this, great Contributions muſt be every day paid; to one, two Crowns, to another, four, to another eight: And to prevent being charg'd any more with converting People, without having inſtructed them, a Capucin or two are plac'd in Garriſon with the Souldiers, and the Inhabitants aſſeſs'd at three Crowns a day for their Maintenance: And becauſe theſe Monks by the Rules of their Order are not to finger any Money, the Souldiers receive it for them, and give them an account: Here then is a Garriſon compos'd in a very ſingular

gular manner of Souldiers and Capucins: But theſe unuſual means are but ſuitable to that extraordinary end they are deſign'd for; that the People may not any way diſpoſe of their Goods, the Intendant hath publiſh'd an Order, wherein he forbids them, on pain of forfeiting four hundred Livers, to remove any thing out of their Houſes: And that they might not by abſenting from their Houſes eſcape the Cruelties deſign'd to be exercis'd there, he hath on like Penalty forbidden them to abſent when the Souldiers come in. You may believe, the moveables of a rich Peaſant cannot hold out long to bear ſuch a Charge: When the Moveables are eat up, the Souldiers proceed to Sale of the Land, under pretence, the owner hath tranſgreſs'd the Orders: Poverty is a great Temptation, and you cannot wonder many weak Souls yield to it: Yes, theſe poor Wretches would think themſelves happy, could they come off with the loſs of their Goods. All manner of Outrages are committed againſt their Perſons. The Horſemen commonly enter the Burroughs with their Muſquetoons in hand crying aloud, *Now for the* Hugonots, *now for the* Calviniſts: They have at the But of their Muſquetoons a little woodden Croſs, which by force

force or ſurprize they make the People kiſs; and having told thoſe that have kiſs'd it, that they are become Catholicks, they preſently drag them away to Church: As ſoon as they enter a Houſe, they make it ring again with execrable blaſphemies and terrible Oaths, threatning all the miſchiefs they deſign to do, if they of the Houſe go not immediately to Maſs. And they are as good as their words; for they take the Maſter of the Houſe and burn the ſoles of his feet with a gentle fire. They torture others with Vices and other Inſtruments to ſcrew in their Thumbs: They have hang'd up ſome Women at the Rafters: Some have eſcap'd death by their Neighbours coming in and cutting the Ropes. They bind Men on Benches, and drub them on the Soles of their Feet, as the *Algerines* do their Slaves, and the *Turks* their Spahies. In a Village near *Niort* they took three Women, bound them faſt to Benches with their Faces upwards, and pour'd in Water at their Mouths; but they had the ſtrength to reſiſt this cruel Torture: If a Husband yield to any of theſe Tentations, his Wife muſt follow him whether ſhe will or no: She is dragg'd to Church with her Hair about her Ears, and ſometimes carry'd thither in a Swound: Others have been made

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lay their hands on a Book without knowing what they did, and were afterwards told they had taken an Oath on the Evangelists, that they would go to Mass: Others have been taken in Sheets, carry'd to Church, and sprinkled with holy-water. Whereupon 'tis pretended they are become Catholicks; and if after they go to hear a Sermon of our Ministers, they are, without course of Law, carryed to Prison, and starv'd there to death. The Intendant in other places hath not given himself this trouble. He hath thought it sufficient to send for the Inhabitants of a Burrough, and tell them. *Children*, go into the next Room, and give your Names to my Secretary. The good Folks do what they are bid, give in their Names and go their ways: The List is sent to the Curate of the Parish, with Order to receive the Abjurations of all those whose Names he finds there: If afterwards these People say, they made not any Promise, they are cruelly bastonadoed, and frequently to death. I dare not engage further, in giving you the particulars of the Cruelties exercis'd by the Intendant and his Myrmidons, by the Souldiers and Judges of the Places, for fear of making too long a digression.

Hug.

Hug. Law. You may do very well, Sir, to particularize a little, and give us the Names of the Places and ſome of the Perſons concern'd; theſe Circumſtances would not a little confirm the truth of the Relation.

Hug. Gent. If theſe Gentlemen pleaſe, I will relate part of what I know, and will be as brief as I can. In the Burrough of *Aulnay* in *Poitou*, the Intendants Deputy caus'd a Child of fourteen years to be arreſted and impriſoned to make him change his Religion. In the ſame place *Huchard*, one of the Intendants Aſſiſtants, and principal Inſtrument of his Violences, accompanied with a Serjeant and a Fryer, arreſted and impriſon'd a Widdow called *Jeanne Micheau*, on no other account, but to make her change her Religion, being a Woman of the Age of threeſcore and twelve. Two days after the Intendant came in Perſon, caus'd the poor Woman to be brought before him, and having ſolicited her very powerfully to change her Religion, he remanded her to Priſon becauſe ſhe perſever'd, and ordered her to be put into a Dungeon, where her own Children could not ſpeak to her. He ſuborn'd Witneſſes to charge her with a falſe Crime, and condemn'd her upon the Depoſiti-

position of those false Witnesses, though neither cross examin'd nor confronted. At the same time he caus'd a Woman big with Child to be imprison'd, who was forc'd to change her Religion to save her Child, in evident danger to be lost by her miscarrying in that inconvenient and horrible place she was put in. He caus'd several others to be imprison'd for the same purpose, that is, to make them change their Religion; some yielded, others held out: At a place called *Fontain Chavagne*, *Marsaut* President of the Election of *Niort* attended with two men, would have the Credit of making Converts after the Intendants method. He went into several Houses, particularly into *Daniel Giraults*; and without more ado, fell presently upon the Men and Women cudgelling them lustily, led them out to Mass, and made them lay their hands on a Book to abjure their Religion: They made their Complaint to the Duke *de Vieuville* Governor of the Province, who was so far from doing them Justice, that he gave them no Answer: The same *Marsaut* hath frequently put his naked Sword to the Throats and Breasts of the *Hugonots* to make them change their Religion: And when he met with People in the Countrey, he made them declare what Re-

ligion they were of, and if they ſaid they were *Hugonots*, he caus'd them to be ſoundly beaten till they abjur'd their Religion. In a Borough where Horſe-men had been quarter'd and exercis'd all the Cruelties I have mention'd, one of them ſurpriz'd a Woman, and without the leaſt pity of an Infant ſucking at her Breaſt, he trod her and the Child under foot, becauſe ſhe had reſiſted three Prieſts and two Horſe-men who would have dragg'd her to Church. The Outrages committed by the Souldiers in the Pariſh of *Echiré* are incredible. A Lieutenant Reformade upon the refuſal of one *Abraham Bourdet* to go to Maſs, firſt broke his Cudgel in beating him, and then drew his Sword to run him through, which he had certainly done, had not fear (which gives men Wings) made the poor Man leap over a high Wall, ſo that he eſcap'd to the wonder of thoſe who ſaw him. At *Challuſſon* in the ſame Pariſh, the Souldiers having perſecuted to extremity a poor Widow call'd *Mary Rambault*, ſhe thought to run away by night and ſave her ſelf. A Souldier runs after her, takes her, and having bruis'd her grievouſly with his Cudgel, and butt-end of his Muskettoon, he took her by the Throat and would have ſtrangled her, had not another Souldier leſs

cruel

cruel than he, taken her out of his hands. Having not been able to kill her thus, he reſolved to diſcharge his Muſquettoon in her Body, but his Comrade having on the ſudden mounted the muzzle of it, he miſs'd his blow with that, he flew upon her, ſeiz'd her by the Hair, diſfigur'd all her Face, and left her drown'd in her Blood and her Tears. The Cruelties exercis'd in the Pariſh of *Vouille* are not leſs: That ſame *Marſant* Preſident of the Election of *Niort* went into every Houſe with the Curate and ſome Serjeants, and made thoſe he met fall on their knees, and having laid their Hands on a Book, they went their ways and reported to the Intendant, that thoſe People had promis'd on the holy Evangeliſts to turn *Catholicks*, and the poor Wretches were forc'd to perform what they never promis'd, or be caſt into a Dungeon. In the ſame Pariſh of *Vouille*, Men and Women were dragg'd above half a League to Church: 'Twas there they tortur'd two young Maids, and forc'd them to turn *Catholicks*. In the Pariſh of St. *Chriſtine*, *Huchard* the Intendant of *Poitou*'s Executioner with the Provoſt of *Niorts* Lieutenant, carryed a Woman Priſoner into the Caſtle of *Benet*. And having put Money into her Pocket, pretended ſhe had received it for changing

her Religion, though ſhe proteſted the contrary. In *Littiere* a Village of *Poitou*, the Converting Souldiers having taken a Girl of fifteen years of age, to make her change her Religion; drew their Swords upon her, put them to her Throat, threatning to kill her if ſhe would not go to Maſs. The Maid refuſing, the Souldiers took Fagots they found in the Court, and made a Fire to throw her in: The Father and another of his Children coming to reſcue her, the Souldiers threw them all three into the Fire, where their Cloaths were burnt, and their Skins ſcorch'd in ſeveral places, and they ſcarce ſcap'd alive out of the Flame. This poor Man's Name was *La Gau*, and he made his Complaint to the Conſiſtory of *Luſignan*, where he left it under his Seal: Thus are Converſions made in the Province of *Poitou*. You are not to imagine I have told you the thouſandth part of what hath been done there. I have confin'd my ſelf to one inſtance of every ſort of Puniſhment and Perſecution inflicted on the miſerable People there. For in all places of the Province, they have exercis d almoſt the ſame Violences; the Contagion of this cruelty hath paſs'd into *Saintong*, and the Countrey of *Aunix*, where the Sieur *de Muin* Intendant of *Rochefort*

fert hath committed the ſame Outrages and greater, ſuitable to his harſh and untractable nature, and the mortal Enmity he hath always profeſs'd againſt the *Hugonots*. So that obſerving the Connivence of the Court at all *Marillac* had done, he made no doubt of being countenanc'd and juſtifi'd in proceedings of like nature, and reſolving to out-do what had been acted in *Poitou*, he exercis'd Cruelties beyond Imagination. In the Burroughs of *Mauzé*, *Surgeres*, and all others about *Rochelle*, he diſpers'd all the Congregations, interdicted the Miniſters, rob'd their Houſes, plundering and carrying away all their Goods, Burnt, Beat, Impriſon'd or put to Flight all thoſe who would not change their Religion. Thoſe who reſiſted theſe horrible Perſecutions were forc'd to ſave themſelves in the Woods, and to live there on Graſs like Beaſts of the Field. The poor Countrey People, who by reaſon of their poverty are deſtitute of help, were at firſt the moſt expos'd to theſe Violences. But now they ſpare not any, but without reſpect to Quality or Birth exerciſe the like Cruelty on all; I that ſpeak to you have ſeen at *Paris* three men (who look'd like Gentlemen, and ſaid they were of Quality) that ſwore their Perſecutors had wound

about their Necks Flax and Tow, to which they ſet fire, and let it burn till half ſtifled, half burnt they ſaid they would go to Maſs. A Lady of a conſiderable Eſtate and Family had in her Houſe a Domeſtick, who had chang'd his Religion and turn'd Proteſtant above four and twenty years ſince : The Intendant of *Rochefort* reſolv'd to have this Man with his Wife and Children, to force them to return to the *Roman-Catholick* Religion : He demanded him of the Lady, and ſent the Grand Provoſt to have him away : All this would not do, the Lady ſtood out ſtiffly, and ſaid, ſhe would not deliver her Domeſtick, without ſpecial Order from the King : The Intendant mad to ſee his Courſe ſtop'd by a Woman, vow'd her ruine, and procur'd from Court Letters under the Signet with ſeveral Blanks, which he intended to fill up at his pleaſure, for ſeizing the Lady and her Children, who, to eſcape his Violences, were all forc'd to run away haſtily out of the Kingdom. If the Gentry give any relief to the poor perſecuted People of their Pariſhes, they are preſently baniſh'd their Houſes and prohibited coming near them. But that you may better comprehend how they uſe the Nobility. I muſt read you a

Letter

Letter of a Gentleman of the Province of *Poitou.*

A Letter of the Marqueſs of——

SIR.

NEver was any thing ſo unjuſt as the Perſecution I have ſuffered from Monſieur Marillac *Intendant of* Poitou, *and* Pelerin *his Deputy by his Order*: Pelerin *begun it the* 15th. *of* Septemb. 1681. *by quartering two Captains, ſix Lieutenants, one Quarter-maſter, and ſixteen Horſe-men in my Territory of*——*which was more than five parts of all the Company to be quarter'd in the Pariſh of* Rouille, *though the ſaid Territory is not a fourth part of the Pariſh. By this beginning he made appear the deſign he had to ruine me. However I forbore not the ſame day to give the Officers a Viſit, and treated at Supper and lodg'd at my Houſe two of the Commanders, who did me the honour to accept of my Invitation. On the morrow being at the Gate of my back-Court, with two of theſe Officers, and five or ſix Cavaliers, a Serjeant of* Rouille *ſerv'd me with an Order of Monſieur* de Marillac's *in theſe words,* Reneatus Marillac, *&c. Upon*

advice given us of the practiſes and ſuggeſtions of the Sieur's——Father and Son, We Order that Information be given by us to his Majeſties Council of the Conduct of the ſaid Sieurs——And in the mean time, we Order them to retire from the Houſe of —— —— —— and not to return within two Leagues of it, until it ſhall be otherwiſe ordered by his Majeſty. The Serjeant writ my Anſwer, wherein I declar'd, that the matter of Fact charg'd in the Order was untrue: Of which Anſwer the Serjeant gave me a Copy ſign'd with his hand: The next day as I was in my Vineyard at the end of my Garden with one of theſe Captains, Pelerin *paſs'd in the High-way cloſe by us, without ſaying a word, having with him a Quarter-maſter, and ſeven or eight Horſemen: He went into the Baſe Court of the Caſtle, where he found my Daughter, whom he approach'd very uncivilly, telling her, he commanded her to open the Chambers, the Cloſets, the Grannaries, and all that was in the Houſe, otherwiſe he would break them open. My Daughter having anſwered very civilly, ſhe had not the Keys, and praying him to let her ſee his Order, he reply'd angrily, that he was the Intendants Deputy, and had his Orders in his head: You have, adds he, but five parts of the Company in your Territory, I will*

will this day ſend the reſt hither, and reduce you to the Condition I would have you in, and carry away by force of Arms all that is in this Caſtle: Then calling up thoſe that were with him, he led them to the Gate of my Out-houſe for Husbandry, and finding the Doors and Windows ſhut, he quarter'd two Horſemen there, by a Billet directed to an old Servant of mine, whom I had long kept there. Soon after he ſent thither a Quarter-maſter, and more Horſe-men with Order to ſeize all that was in the Houſe: Which Order they executed punctually. And to vex (as much as was poſſible) a Maid of Quality and Honour, they lodg'd in my Houſe the Wenches that follow'd their Troop, which my Daughter was extremely concern'd at: When ſhe ſaw the Houſe was to be plunder'd, ſhe ſent on the morrow to my Nephew de la Ralliere *to intreat* Pelerin *to ceaſe this diſorder and affront. The Anſwer he made to his civil requeſt, was ſaying to the Quarter-maſter and Horſe-men that were with him theſe very words with a furious Tone,* Take that man, *which they did immediately, and took away his Sword; and at the ſame time another of my Nephews, with a Gentleman that waited on my Son, and another of my Children under fourteen years of Age, who were walking in the Hall, not dreaming of any ſuch thing,*

thing, were Arrested by Pelerin's *Order. True it is, these last were set at Liberty within an hour: But he sent to the Provost of St.* Maixaut, *(who, as I learnt after, was in Ambush near my House to take me) that he must come and carry away Monsieur* de la Raillier *to St.* Maixaut, *which he and his Archers with Musquettoon in hand accordingly did, and put him in Prison, with order that no one should speak with him.*

Monsieur de Marillac's *principal design was to have me Arrested, and he was vext to the heart at the disappointment. This made him give new Orders to the Provosts of the Province, and the People he hath about him, to use all their endeavours to take me by any means: And thinking I would be the Sunday following at the Sermon at* Lusignan, *to make the Affront more publick, he gave Order to a Provost to put himself in disguise, and Arrest me in the Church, but I had notice of his intent, and went not to Church.*

Perhaps, Sir, it will be hardly believ'd, that a Person of my Age, and (if I may be allow'd to say it) of my Birth should be without cause or pretence expos'd to the humors of a passionate man, and be forc'd to seek Sanctuary abroad. If the Lives of my Ancestors and mine have not been signaliz'd

with

with those Dignities to which Gentlemen of merit may reasonably pretend, yet I dare affirm, that they have in several considerable imployments, spent their Blood in the Service of our Lawful Soveraigns, when Monsieur Marillac's *Ancestors did all in their Power, and stirr'd up the People to place the Crown of our Kings on the Heads of their Subjects. I may add, that in my particular, I have not fail'd to do the State some Service, which I can prove by authentick Marks of acknowledgment receiv'd from Court, during the late Troubles: Yet under the necessity I find my self to get out of the reach of Monsieur* Marillac's *Malice, who hath resolv'd to ruine me and my Family, and declar'd as much with a great deal of Passion, 'tis a Comfort to me, he cannot in the least reproach my Conduct. I have all my life, not only receiv'd his Majesties Orders with profound submission, and faithfully obey'd them, but have always had a great deal of respect for any imploy'd by him, and have constantly inspir'd the like Sentiments into my Children. The only Cause of Monsieur* Marillac's *hate, and the sole Crime he can charge me with, is my being of the Reformed Religion; that I and my eldest Son have complain'd at Court, of the Violences done by his Order to those of the Religion,*

and

and that I joyn'd with others, in ſigning the Complaints againſt Pelerin's *Extortions: If the terrible Diſorders and Outrages committed againſt the Proteſtants in* Poitou, *compell'd them to make me acquainted with their Complaints, and to ſend my Son to the Court, to apply himſelf to the King for protection; ought he for this to lay (as he hath done) a form'd deſign to ruine my Family? Or can he accuſe us of Calumny? One of the greateſt Miniſters his Majeſty imploys, who had the goodneſs to hear us, and you, Sir, know well enough, we offer'd on forfeiture of our Lives, to juſtifie the truth of our Charge: We deſir'd a Commiſſion of Inquiry, to be directed to the Biſhop of* Poitiers, *a Prelate of known integrity, whom, I can truly ſay, I never ſaw: Could Monſieur* Marillac *have any ſuſpition of him? Monſieur* Marillac, *who aſſumes the Quality of an Apoſtle, and applauds thoſe, who compare him to St.* Paul, *and ſay, St.* Paul *never made ſo many Converts as he: This in my Opinion, would have been a fairer way to clear his reputation, and a more legal Method to juſtifie him, then affecting (as he did) to be Judge in his own Cauſe, and imploying Provoſts, Aſſeſſors, and others of his Train with Promiſes and Threats, Money and ill-uſage, to prevail with Men to retract the Complaints*

they

they had made of his Exorbitances, and the Outrages he had done them, and were ſtill done by his Order in Poitou: *'Tis a proceeding, I never ſaw practis'd or approv'd in any Court of Juſtice: Much leſs will you approve his imploying (as he does) in making his Converts no other for the moſt part than Blaſphemers, Men branded by Juſtice, and of a ſcandalous Life.*

I am oblig'd to tell you farther, that ſince the laſt Orders he receiv'd, he appears with more Courage, and acts more vigorouſly than ever: He baniſhes whom he pleaſes, and ſhews thoſe who have acceſs to him Letters, he ſays, of a great Miniſter, who commands him to carry on things to what points he thinks fit, and promiſes all he does ſhall be juſtified at Court: He ſhews alſo Warrants under the Signet, which, he ſays, have been ſent him with Blanks, to put in what names he pleaſes: Yet we ſcarce believe all this to be true, though we ſee ſome Gentlemen *Impriſon'd, others Baniſh'd, and particularly, I am forc'd to abſent my ſelf to avoid the farther effects of his anger, having already had my Houſe plunder'd, and my Houſes of Husbandry made a place of Debauchery. And by expreſs Order of an Aſſeſſor of* Poitiers, *this Aſſeſſor having lately obtain'd the Conduct of Troops, and march'd in the head of them, hath taken*

into

into his Train Robbers and Out-laws, who come with Carts to take away all that the Horſe-men have not conſum'd in the Houſes they have been quarter'd in: They drive away our Beeves and all our Cattel, and ſell, for twenty times leſs than they are really worth, the Corn, the Hay, and generally, all that belongs to thoſe of the Reform'd Religion: Yet theſe poor People are forc'd to maintain the Souldiers in all their Exceſſes and extravagant Expences, and they in recompence, without the leaſt formality of Juſtice poſſeſs themſelves, not only of the Goods of thoſe who are frightned away from their Houſes, but of thoſe who ſtay at home to maintain them; and having ſeiz'd the Goods, they ſell them publickly, and give diſcharges to the buyers.

This, Sir, is the lamentable Condition of the Province of Poitou, *where all things are now in a fearful Confuſion. I am very well aſſur'd, ſuch courſes as theſe are directly contrary to his Majeſties Intentions; and that he will not approve of them: Yet, becauſe we cannot inform his Majeſty of our Grievances, but by your Miniſtry, I take the Liberty to promiſe my ſelf, Sir, that you will be pleas'd to take the pains to ſpeak of them to the King, and to the Marqueſs* de Louvois, *and to deſire his Majeſty to take my Fami-*

ly

ly into his ſpecial Protection, without which, it cannot be ſafe. I muſt alſo intreat you, Sir, to procure from his Majeſty an Order, to what Judge he ſhall think fit, to inquire into, and inform of the Plunder and Robberies committed on my Houſe and Lands: His Majeſty will not deny me the Juſtice of his ſpecial Protection, without which, my Family cannot longer ſubſiſt in this Province, after the terrible menaces of Monſieur de Marillac, *which have already taken effect: If you will be ſo kind as to deſire it for me and my Son, we may continue with ſafety in our Houſes in the Province, and ſhall be infinitely oblig'd to you: When you undertake it, I humbly beg your pardon for the trouble I put you to, and am*

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt

obedient Servant, *&c.*

But to acquaint you with ſomething yet more horrible, they begin to degrade thoſe Gentlemen that refuſe to turn *Roman-Catholicks*, and ſtrip them of all the priviledges of Nobility. There is in the Neighbourhood of *Niort* a conſiderable Family, which came off very well in all the actions brought

brought for twenty years past against the Nobility, to shew by what Right they held the Priviledges and Exemptions they pretended to: This Family having obtain'd several Arrests in confirmation of their Nobility, and the Priviledges annex'd to it, the Informer thought fit to appeal from a Sentence of the Intendant, given in favour of the Family. It was observ'd at the Council (to which the Appeal was made) that the Family was numerous, and had so many Branches, it fill'd the Countrey. This was look'd upon as a favourable opportunity, to gain at once many considerable Persons to their Party. The Gentlemen were all solicited to turn Catholicks, and promises made to some of them of full Companies in Service, besides Money and Favour. The eldest of the Family had the baseness to yield, and obtain'd an Arrest in these Terms. *Having seen the Evidences and Abjuration of——— made before Father* la Chaise, *we confirm him in his Nobility, and discharge him of all Taxes: And we allow a months time to the rest of the same Name and Family, to make the like Abjuration. After which time they shall be foreclos'd, &c. and made to pay the Taxes assess'd on them with all Charges.* The proceedings of this Suit were all shew'd

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me by a Gentleman of two or three thouſand Livers a year, who is now reduc'd to extremity, his Eſtate ſeiz'd, himſelf degraded, and depriv'd of the Priviledges of Nobility, becauſe he abjur'd not his Religion, as requir'd by the Arreſt.

I will acquaint you with another very ſpecial ſort of Perſecution: The laſt year an Arreſt paſs'd, whereby the King prohibited the Catholicks to embrace the Proteſtant Religion, and forbad the Proteſtants to receive any Abjuration of the Catholicks, under pain of being interdicted the Miniſtry, and having the Church demoliſh'd, wherein any Catholick ſhould have been receiv'd into the Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion. At a place in *Poitou* called *la Mott*, a Servant Maid a *Roman-Catholick*, was perſwaded by ſome Raſcals, to go with the Proteſtants to receive the Sacrament in their Church: The Intendant upon notice, ſends for the Miniſter and Elders, and tells them, that though it appear'd not, that Servant Maid had abjur'd, yet there could not be a more certain ſign ſhe had been receiv'd amongſt them, than that ſhe had receiv'd the Sacrament with them. Hereupon he made a great noiſe, interdicted and expell'd the Miniſter, and threatned to have the Church

pull'd down. And if ſuch Courſes be allow'd, what Church can be ſafe? How eaſie a matter is it for the Curates, the Monks, and the Intendants to ſend Raſcals to receive the Sacrament among us, without our being able to hinder them? They durſt not for ſome time commit theſe horrible Outrages in the great Towns, where the Proteſtants were numerous, for fear of provoking them to ſome deſperate Act: But now they reſolve, all places ſhall fare alike: *Niort*, *Chatellheraut*, and *Rochelle* have already felt the effects of their Fury. There is not any kind of Outrage, but hath been, and is done to the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns: They write from that Province, that there is not a Proteſtant left in *Thoüars*; and generally the Inhabitants of the Towns, as well as the Countrey, declare aloud, nothing but an abſolute impoſſibility of getting out, ſhall ſtay them in the Kingdom. But ſuch is their Cruelty, the Ports 'are guarded with all ſtrictneſs imaginable: If any one embark, and they know it, preſently they romage the Veſſel, take him and impriſon him: I have with me an Original Writing, of thoſe poor Fugitives who were lately taken and impriſon'd, which I will read to you.

" We

" WE whoſe Names are under-writ-
" ten, Priſoners, as well in the
" Priſons Royal of the City of *Rochell*, as
" in the Tower of the *Lantern*, not only
" in our own Names, but the Names of
" thoſe of us who cannot write, being in
" all, three and thirty Perſons profeſſing
" the Reformed Religion, do hereby cer-
" tifie; that having been forc'd ſome weeks
" ſince, to leave the Province of *Poitou*,
" the place of our Nativity, our Houſes
" and all our Goods, by the unheard of
" Cruelties and Outrages exercis'd by Or-
" der of the Intendant *Marillac*, againſt
" all thoſe of the ſaid Religion, who will
" not abandon it and turn *Roman-Catho-*
" *licks*; we retir'd deſtitute of all conve-
" niences and neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence into
" the ſaid City of *Rochell*, in hopes to find
" there ſome relief in our diſtreſs, and an
" eaſie paſſage into *England*: Being arriv'd
" at *Rochell* with great pains and toil, ſe-
" veral of us having Wives and ſucking
" Children, after ſome days ſtay in the ſaid
" City, we treated with one *Meſnier* a Mer-
" chant of the ſame City, who hir'd a Veſ-
" ſel of purpoſe to tranſport us into *Eng-*
" *land*, and actually took on Board the
" ſaid Veſſel, ever ſince the 20*th.* of the
" laſt month above one hundred and fifty

" Perſons of us, who remain'd in the ſaid
" Veſſel two days ready to ſet Sayl. Which
" coming to the knowledge of the Judge
" and Attorney-General of the Admiralty,
" they ſent Guards aboard the Veſſel, ri-
" ding within Musket ſhot of the Harbor:
" Which Guards forc'd us all aſhore, hav-
" ing firſt plunder'd ſome of us of our
" Cloaths, and made ſome of us Priſoners,
" whom (after their Confeſſion taken)
" they enlarg'd without entring their
" names in the Goalers Book: Since which
" we continued at *Rochell* aforeſaid, as
" well for recovering the Money we had
" paid *Meſſner* for our paſſage (which he
" abſenting himſelf, we could not obtain)
" as for finding out ſome ſure means to
" tranſport our ſelves into *England*, our
" intention being not to return home,
" where neither our Perſons nor our Con-
" ſciences can be in ſafety, all things being
" there in ruin and deſolation: But ac-
" companyed every where by our misfor-
" tune, we were ſo unhappy, that the Ci-
" vil Magiſtrates and Lieutenant Criminal
" of the ſaid City, who could not endure
" us, made diligent ſearch for us, in all
" their Houſes who had had the Charity
" to harbour us; and having found us,
" they put us into Priſon, where we con-

" tinue

" tinue ſince All-Saints day; and had been
" ſtarv'd to death, but for the Charitable
" relief of ſeveral good People, who ſent
" us Victuals to ſave us from periſhing with
" hunger, having two days lain on the
" Boards, ſome of us half naked, having
" been taken out of Bed, and not allow'd
" time to put on all our Cloaths. The
" ſaid ſearch having been made between
" the hours of nine and ten in the Even-
" ing, when ſome of us were in Bed, whom
" they forc'd to get up and go to Priſon,
" where we continue as Criminals: What
" they will do with us we know not, nor
" are we conſcious to our ſelves of any
" Crime, unleſs it be that we make not
" profeſſion of the *Roman-Catholick* Re-
" ligion, for which, we think, they intend
" to trouble us: Becauſe every day, and
" almoſt every hour we are vex'd and tor-
" mented with the viſits of the King's
" Advocate of this City, and ſeveral
" Monks, who make us the faireſt and rich-
" eſt promiſes imaginable, if we will change
" our Religion. And on the contrary,
" threaten us terribly if we perſiſt in our
" Profeſſion. And though we are hoarſe
" with telling them, we will by the grace
" of God perſevere in our Religion, and
" that we will dye rather than forſake it,

" yet

" yet they leave us not, but torment us " inceſſantly. Therefore we conjure all " good Chriſtians, not to forſake us in the " miſerable Condition we are in, but that " they will endeavour our enlargement, as " well as continue their Charity for our " ſubſiſtence. We pray God, that he will " every day pour on them greater mea- " ſures of his choiceſt Bleſſings, and we " intreat them not to forget us in their " Prayers, and that they will joyn their " Complaints to ours, and lay them at his " Majeſties feet, that we may obtain from " his Clemency, ſuch Order as is requi- " ſite for our Liberty. Dated at the Tow- " er of the *Lantern* in the City of *Rochell*, " where we are Priſoners, *Nov. 4th.* 1681. " *Touſot*, *M. Mouſſault*, aged ſixty years. *Daniel Pivet*, *Jean Conſſemeau*, *Francis Bourceau*, *Lewis Bomilet*, *John Mentauban*, *Peter Guery*, *James Piron*, *Peter Moinault*, *J. Michau*, *James Haullice*, *John Gouriault*, *Reyneere*.

I confeſs, this proceeding appears horrible to me, and that it puts me in mind of what *Ozorius* told us of the Condition of thoſe miſerable Jews, who had the Ports of *Portugal* ſhut againſt them, and were conſtrain'd to remain ſlaves in that Countrey.

trey. In the Age of *Maſſacres*, every one was at liberty to go out of the Kingdom. If this Courſe of retaining theſe perſecuted Wretches be continued, there is cauſe to fear, they will break out at length into ſome deſperate Action; that they will burn their Houſes, and ſet fire on the Towns. The Reſolution, I confeſs, is violent and furious, but Wretches in Extremity bid adieu to their Reaſon. What think you in your Conſcience, is not this an open Perſecution, and equal in Cruelty to that of paſt Ages? What difference will you make between the Raign of *Charles* the *9th.* and *Lewis* the *14th.* the greateſt of our Kings?

Par. If Matters be thus, why do you not complain? 'Tis very well known, the King loves not Violence: He will certainly do you Juſtice.

Hug. Law. How, Sir, are you ignorant that we complain, but cannot be heard? Do not you know well enough, that the Province of *Poiton* had Deputies here, who repreſented to the World the lamentable Condition of the poor *Hugonots* there? In a word, Have you not ſeen the Petition they preſented to the King? I have it here, and will read it to you.

To the King.

SIR,

YOur Subjects of the Religion, P. R. of Poitou, *most humbly shew to your Majesty, that they are in extreme desolation, by the unheard of Violences exercis'd against them for their Religion, by Order of the Sieur* Marillac *Intendant of the Province: They have formerly exhibited their Complaints to your Majesty, who was graciously pleased to declare, it was not your intention any force should be us'd to deprive them of the Liberty of Conscience granted them by your Edicts. But their Grievances and great Sufferings having since been infinitely augmented, they are constrain'd to come again to cast themselves at your Majesties feet, to implore your justice, having begg'd leave to inform you, that they are dealt with as declar'd Enemies, that their Goods and their Houses are pillag'd, their Persons assaulted; and 'tis publish'd aloud, the Sieur* Marillac *will have it so, that he commands it, and that it is to oblige your* Petitioners *to change their Religion. Your Souldiers, Sir, whom your Laws require to observe the strictest Discipline, are made choice of to execute all these Enormities. Instead of Quartering*

tering them indifferently upon all your Subjects, they are Quarter'd on thoſe only of the Religion, P. R. *And when they are ſo Quarter'd, not content with ruining their Landlords by the exceſſive Charges they put them to for maintaining them, not content with large Contributions of Money exacted from them, not content with frightning them with execrable Oaths and horrible Blaſphemies, when they refuſe going to Maſs, or hearing the Sermons of the* Capucins *Quarter'd by Order, on thoſe of the Religion, they are ſoundly Beaten, they are Bang'd and Cudgell'd: Women have been dragg'd by the Hair with Ropes about their Necks: Others have been Tortur'd: Old men of fourſcore years have been faſt bound on Benches. Their Children who would have comforted them, have been abus'd before their Faces. The moſt moderate of theſe Souldiers hinder the Tradeſmen from working at their Trades, they rob the poor Labourers of what ſhould maintain them, and make publick Sale of their Goods, that being reduc'd to beggary, they may be forc'd to change their Religion: Others of them ſeeing neither Threats nor Baſtonades, nor the horror of a violent Death, preſented every hour to their Hoſts by naked Swords and Piſtols, ready charg'd, laid to their Breaſts, could prevail with them*

to

to quit their Religion, put them in Sheets, carryed them to Church, and having ſprinkled them with Holy-water, pretend they are Roman-Catholicks, *and that in caſe they return to their former Religion, they ſhall be guilty of the Crime of Relapſe, and which is yet more ſtrange and unparallel'd in any Age, theſe poor Wretches are not allow'd the liberty to complain. If they apply themſelves to the Sieur* Marillac, *he ſtops their mouths without hearing them. They are preſently impriſon'd without Warrant fil'd, and without any form of Juſtice, and are kept Priſoners without being proceeded againſt. And to fruſtrate the Complaints exhibited to your Majeſty, the Provoſts and Serjeants have gone from Houſe to Houſe, and forc'd the Complainants to withdraw their Complaints: If any Gentlemen take upon them to ſpeak of theſe diſorders of which they have been eye-witneſſes, they are anſwered haughtily, they are to meddle with their own Buſineſs. Otherwiſe they will be put into a place of ſafety: So that this miſerable* People *would think themſelves utterly undone, if they were not perſwaded, that a Conduct ſo contrary to your Laws and the Rules of Chriſtianity, will not be approv'd by your Majeſty. Proſtrate therefore, at your Majeſties feet, they pray with a profound reſpect, that you will look upon*

upon them with a favourable Eye, and hearken to their juſt Complaints, the truth whereof they offer at the peril of their Lives, to prove before any Judge it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to nominate: 'Tis from the ſole Protection of your Majeſty, your Petitioners can expect an end of ſo many Outrages, and an enjoyment of that Tranquility they preſume to promiſe themſelves, under the Raign of the Greateſt and moſt glorious Monarch of the World. May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty, to appoint Commiſſioners, before whom your Petitioners may prove the Matters of Fact abovementioned, with their Circumſtances and Dependances. And in the mean time to Order, that the Souldiers be diſlodg'd, to the end your Petitioners may be at liberty to get in their Harveſt: Or if it be your Majeſties Pleaſure that they remain in the Province, that they may in that Caſe be Quarter'd indifferently on your Subjects of both Religions, that the ſtrong may ſupport the weak, and thoſe who are moſt able, may bear the Burden as thoſe that are leaſt: That you will injoyn them to live in the Order of Diſcipline, and require their Officers to ſee it done, on pain of being accountable for all the Diſorders their Souldiers ſhall commit; that you will prohibit the Souldiers, and all others to exerciſe any Violence againſt your

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Subjects of the Religion, P. R. *under pretence of making them change their Religion, upon pain of being punished as disturbers of the publick Peace. And that you will be pleased to Order, that those of the Religion*, P. R. *who are in Prison, may be forthwith proceeded against, or set at Liberty. And your Petitioners shall continue their Prayers to God for the health and prosperity of your Majesty, and the Royal Family.*

If you have a mind to see other pieces as authentick as this, I will read you two Petitions; one intended to be presented to the King, the other presented to the Parliament of *Guienne*.

To the King.

SIR,

YOur *Subjects of the Religion*, P. R. *of* Marennes Santonge, *and the Government of* Broüage, *prostrate at your Majesties feet, most humbly shew, That although they have always behav'd themselves according to your Majesties Declarations and Edicts, and are fully perswaded it is your intention, that your Petitioners should live in Peace, and not have any force put upon their Con-*

Conſcience: Yet ſo it is, that the Governor of Broüage *ceaſes not with his Garriſon to go from Houſe to Houſe, and from Village to Village, to compel all manner of ways thoſe of the ſaid Religion to go to Maſs, forceably dragging ſome of them to Church, threatning to kill others if they refuſe to abjure, and Quartering Souldiers in their Houſes; which they plunder, and ſell your Petitioners Goods, forcing them to abandon all, to go ſeek elſewhere, that quiet they cannot find in their Countrey.*

This, Sir, was done in the Burrough of Dhier *near* Broüage; *they bound* Blanchet, *a Ship-Carpenter, to a Table, forc'd ſtones into his Mouth, and whetted his Teeth with Flint.*

They carry ſeveral Perſons to Church, and having made them put their hands on a Book, they pretend they are thereby become good Catholicks, and oblige them to Sign an Abjuration of the Religion, though no other means of Perſwaſion or Conſtraint have been us'd to reduce them to it.

They have acted extreme Outrages upon Chadenne Marinier, Ardoüin *and* Rambert: *And one* Voyer, *having fled for Refuge to* Marennes, *was followed by a Serjeant and four Souldiers, who publickly gave him ſeveral blows with the flat of their Swords, and*

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beat him on the Stomach with the But end of their Guns. And having made him ſo weak he could not go, carryed him to Priſon in a Cart.

In the Village of Breüil, la Menardiex, *and others the Souldiers of the ſaid Garriſon, and entred the Houſes by force, carryed away and ſold openly the Goods of thoſe who were fled thither for refuge, to ſave themſelves from the Outrages they had ſeen done to their Neighbours; particularly to* Ardoüin, le Comte, Hervy *and* Baudry.

At Peufeucié, *the Officers of the ſame Garriſon put their Swords and Piſtols to the Throat of one* Chaſſeriau, *and ſaid they would kill him, if he would not change his Religion, and ſay his Prayers :* Chaſſeriau *having kneel'd and ſaid his Prayers, the Officers call'd him a thouſand names, and beat him outragiouſly, becauſe he would not change his Religion.*

In the Burrough of Marennes, *ſeveral Perſons are every day impriſon'd without the leaſt formality of Juſtice. The Goods of* Fougeron *Captain of a Ship were taken away in the ſame manner :* Soleil *was beaten and impriſon'd, becauſe he would not abjure : And all the Inhabitants of thoſe places are threatned, all manner of Violence ſhall be us'd to force them to go to Maſs.*

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Theſe Outrages, Sir, and thoſe committed in the Iſles of Oleron, la Tremblade, *and* Soubize, *force your Seamen and others of the Religion,* P. R. *to leave the Kingdom. Your Petitioners demand Juſtice of your Majeſty, and have ſo much the greater hopes of your Clemency, becauſe they have been always moſt obedient to your Orders, and made appear on all occaſion a conſtant Zeal, and Fidelity to your Service, for which they are ſtill ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes. All the favour they beg, is the Liberty of their Conſcience. That your Majeſty will be pleas'd to put a ſtop to the Violences done them: And that they may live in your Kingdom, according to your Edicts and Declarations. And your Petitioners ſhall continue their Vows and Prayers for your Majeſties Sacred Perſon, and the proſperity of your Raign.*

A Petition preſented to the Parliament of *Guienne* by the Inhabitants of the Iſles of *Santonge*, in the Government of *Brouage.*

THe Inhabitants of the Iſles of Santonge, *in the Government of* Broüage, *making profeſſion of the Religion,* P. R. *humbly praying, ſhew, that although according*

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ing to his Majesties Edicts and Declarations, and an Arrest of Councel of the 19th. *of* May *last, they ought to live in full Liberty, as well as others the Kings Subjects. Yet so it is, that the Sieur* de Carnavalet *Governor of* Broüage *aforesaid, accompany'd with part of the Captains of his Garrison and many Souldiers, exercise horrible Violences against your Petitioners, plundering their Houses, giving them blows without number, with the But ends of their Muskettoons and Pistols, dragging them by the Hair, burning their Beards, to force them to change their Religion. By reason whereof, your Petitioners are oblig'd to have recourse to the Justice and Authority of this Court, that Commissioners may be sent and deputed out of the body of the Court, to inquire into the truth of the Premisses, and to direct the whole proceeding therein, to the end a stop may be put to these inhumanities, so contrary to the King's Will, and the publick Tranquility, it being impossible to find upon the place, Officers who will pass any Act against a Governor : In Consideration whereof, may it please this Court, favourably to grant that your Petitioners Complaints may be recorded, and that such of your Lordships as you shall think fit, be sent and deputed to go upon the places to inform themselves of the truth*

truth of the Premiſes, and direct the proceeding to be had for ſuppreſſing the ſaid inhumanities, and in the mean time, to take your Petitioners into the ſafeguard and protection of the King and this Court: And you will do well.

Sign'd. *Chaillé*, purſuant to my Procuration.
Bonnin, purſuant to my Procuration.
J. Pavillon, purſuant to my Procuration.
Sign'd. *Lartiguet*, Procurator.

Subſcribed thus.

WE whoſe Names are under-written, having not been able to obtain a day for hearing the ſaid Petition, nor to have it ſignified to the Court, have perſonally carryed a true Copy thereof to the Attorney General, who took and receiv'd it in preſence of Monſieur Dalon, *Advocate General: At* Reole, Septemb. 8*th.* 1681. Sign'd. *Bonnin, J. Pavillon, Chaillé.*

Can you believe, Sir, If these things were Fables, men could have the impudence to present them to the King, and his Ministers, and his Soveraign Courts?

Par. But what was the effect of all these Petitions?

Hug. Law. The Effect, Sir? 'Twas this: Order was given to the Deputies of *Poitou*, to go out of *Paris* in four and twenty hours, and not to return: The Intendant writ from the Province, that all we informed at Court were Fables: He sent Horsemen with Pistol in hand, to force those who had chang'd their Religion, to give it under their Hands, they had done it voluntarily and unconstrain'd: This second Violence more cruel than the first secures him against all: The Court is inform'd of these Subscriptions, and call our Deputies Rascals and false Informers: Not but that the Court very well understands how Matters are carryed: They know very well, that the Intendants Guards and Retinue are not Preachers able enough to Convert such Multitudes by their Discourses: Miracles are ceas'd: And the King hath too clear a sense, to think such numerous Conversions are made Naturally, and without Violence: Whence should this new illumination come, I pray? Or why

why ſhould it be peculiar to the Province of *Poitou*? Yet at Court they pretend not to believe a word we ſay, to the end they may give permiſſion to all Practices againſt us, yet be able to ſay, if any Violence be acted, 'tis without Order of the Court: Since *September* laſt they have labour'd more than ever, to Publiſh it is not the Kings pleaſure any Violence ſhould be us'd. His Majeſty hath had the goodneſs to ſay as much to ſeveral of his Governors and Intendants: In the mean time, 'tis certain, that in the Provinces of *Santonge* and *Poitou*, the Violences and Outrages you have heard, are not only continued, but increas'd. The Sieur *Marillac* finding himſelf authoriz'd by the connivence of the Court, hath tripled his Fury. I will tell you a very true ſtory, which will teach you what to believe of the mitigation ſo much talk'd of. Four Souldiers Quarter'd in one Houſe, having ſack'd and conſum'd all the Goods in it, and committed all Violences imaginable, to make the Maſter of the Houſe change his Religion, took his two Daughters, both grown and handſom, they lock them up with themſelves in a Room, and threaten if they refuſe to turn Catholicks, they muſt ſuffer the greateſt Extremities; and,

to be as good as their words, they put them into a posture to receive the worst Outrage that can be done to a civil Woman : To prevent which, they chang'd their Religion. I know very well, his Majesty would be so far from Countenancing such an Action, that he would abhor it, if he knew it. Neither do I believe Monsieur *Marillac* so mad, as to Command such Brutality. But this lets you see what a loose hand is held over the Insolence of the Souldiers; to what point they extend the Permission granted them, to act what Violence they please, provided they oblige the *Hugonots* to change their Religion. In a word, you may judge from hence, what you are to believe of the Mitigation they tell you of : Ask me not again, Sir, as you did awhile, whence proceeds that terrible fright we are observ'd to be in for some time past : We see coming towards us that Scourge which now Afflicts *Santonge* and *Poitou* : We understand well enough, they will not open a Persecution in all places at once; this would make too great a noise : But when they have laid these two Provinces desolate, they will pass into another : They scatter and lay waste all our Congregations in one end of the Kingdom, and in the other, tell us, we shall be dealt with

with better far than we imagine, that we are to blame to take the Alarm, and ought not to think of leaving the Kingdom: That is, that we are a File of Wretched men mark'd out for death; while thoſe at the one end of the File are Hang'd or Shot to death, thoſe at the other end are ſpoken fair to, and made drink, to amuſe them, that they run not away, but may, when the reſt are diſpatch'd, be Hang'd as the others. They began with this poor Province of *Poiton*, becauſe it is bounded on one ſide by the Sea, and on the other ſide borders on all the Provinces of *France*, ſo that the wretched Inhabitants have no way to eſcape out of the Kingdom. And it is certain, thoſe who will permit themſelves to be ſurpriz'd, and neglect the opportunity of getting into a place of ſafety, will one day dearly pay for their Imprudence and Security.

Hug. Gent. Your Reflections have interrupted me in the Courſe of my ſtory. I have many things more to acquaint you with, which will give you further Light into the Character of this Perſecutor who Ravages *Poiton*. He ſpreads, and cauſes it to be ſpread abroad every where with inconceivable boldneſs, that 'tis the King's intention, there ſhall be but one Religion

in his Kingdom. If any one chance to ſay any thing to the contrary, what Religion ſoever he is of, he is puniſh'd for't. It happen'd, that three *Roman-Catholicks* ſaid, the King had not declar'd himſelf as fully in this particular, as 'twas reported he had; they were all three Impriſon'd for it. A Man of the Religion having taken an occaſion to raily theſe Converſions made for Money, and having ſaid, the King was too wiſe to be at great expence to carry on an Action ſo baſe as that, of Bribing People out of their Religion, was Impriſon'd and Condemn'd to go bare-head and bare-foot, with a lighted Torch in his hand through the Street, follow'd by the Executioner to the Court of Juſtice, to beg Pardon for his fault: But I have one thing more to tell you, by which you may better know what a Perſon he is I am ſpeaking of: He went to Dinner at the Marquels of *Vera's*, a Gentleman of note in the Province. While they were at Dinner, the Intendant gave Order, the Inhabitants of the place ſhould aſſemble at the Croſs: After Dinner he took his Coach, got up on the ſteps of the Croſs, and ſaid to the Peaſants aſſembled, *Children, you are to know, 'tis the King's intention there ſhall be henceforth but one Religi-*

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on in France : *Turn Catholicks* : *Whoever does ſo, ſhall have cauſe upon all occaſions to praiſe the King's Bounty* : *Thoſe who refuſe, ſhall experience his Severity* : *To prove what I ſay, ſee here, your Lord the Marqueſs of* Verac *come along with me to change his Religion* : Whereupon the Marqueſs (who is a very honeſt man, and a very good Proteſtant) ſtepping up immediately to the ſame Croſs, ſaid to the Peaſants: *Children, The Intendant does but jeſt with you; The King has no deſign to revoke his Edicts: And it is not true that I am come along with him, or have any deſign to change my Religion.*

Hug. Law. This is ſurprizing, and ſufficient of it ſelf, to make out the Character of the Man. I cannot tell, Sir, what you think of theſe Converſions of *Poiton*: But as for me, I confeſs, that aſſuming the Sentiments of a reaſonable Catholick, I could not forbear being of the Opinion of *Ozorjus* Biſhop of the *Algarues*. *That nothing is more oppoſite to the Spirit of Chriſtianity, than a Conduct of this Nature, that expoſes ſo many Myſteries and holy things to men ſuſpected and evidently prophane.* Can you chooſe but tremble, Sir, to think that at this day in *Poiton*, thouſands of thoſe who are forc'd to go to Maſs, and proſtrate

themſelves before that which you call *Our Lord*, deteſt and look upon that as an Idol which they pretend to adore: When they are ſick, they bring them the holy Oyl, and make them take the Sacrament after your manner: They obey with their bodies the Violence us'd, but they think very Prophanely of thoſe things you eſteem ſo Holy. 'Tis, in your Opinion, an enormous Crime theſe Wretches commit; yet 'tis your Zealous Catholicks are the Cauſe of theſe horrible Prophanations of your Myſteries: When Violence is us'd to force men to Lock up in the bottom of their Hearts their ſentiments of Religion, it produces the effect of that Violent and inconſiderate Zeal of *Emmanuel* the ſecond King of *Portugal*, who compell'd the Jews to turn Chriſtians, as I told you: The Jews profeſs'd themſelves Chriſtians, but continued Jews in their Hearts. Their Children inherited their Diſſimulation and Religion. Hence it is, that half thoſe *Portugueſe*, who, to avoid the Inquiſition, are Chriſtians in *Portugal*; no ſooner ſet foot in *Holland*, but they are Jews: Thoſe *Hugonots* who have been forc'd to turn *Roman-Catholicks*, will inſpire into their Children their Religion, and the diſquiet of their Spirit: Theſe Sentiments will be

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tranſmitted from Generation to Generation, as a Seed of Rebellion, that will always incline this People to ſhake off the Yoke impos'd on their Conſcience, as ſoon as they have opportunity. So that by the Courſe now taken, inſtead of gaining Servants to God, you raiſe Enemies to the State. And I had reaſon to ſay, that by the Method now us'd for Converſion, you will make you a Church of Rogues and Villains, of Atheiſtical and Prophane Raſcals, deſtitute both of Religion and Honour: Converſion at this day is a Cloak to cover Debauches, and the moſt abominable Enormities: Let the moſt infamous of men profeſs himſelf a Catholick, he is preſently become a right honeſt man: That Church which claims the title of Holy as proper to it ſelf, opens her Gates to Bankrupts and Cheats, and exhorts men to become Bankrupts by turning *Roman-Catholicks*, which is a ſure Means of Pardon and Oblivion for all Sins, and in a word, a Salve for all Sores, a Remedy for all Evils.

Hug. Gent. Give me leave to tell you a little ſtory, not impertinent to the Purpoſe which I had the other day from an Officer: You know, 'tis now every ones buſineſs to make Converts: 'Tis the imployment of Gentlemen and Officers of War,

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as well as of the *Bigots* : A Souldier of the Garriſon of *Friburg*, having committed a conſiderable Robbery, was impriſon'd for it. He had wit enough to know, it would go very hard with him, unleſs he could find Favour. The firſt Queſtion ask'd him in Priſon, was, what Religion he was of; to which he anſwered, without the leaſt Heſitation, he was a *Hugonot*. Preſently flock'd about him all the Devotes of the Town, and, in the Head of them, Madam *de Chamilly* the Governor's Wife. Never Martyr made a more reſolute Defence than this Souldier, who was look'd upon as a *Hugonot*, would ſooner Burn than turn. Monſieur *de Chamilly* the Governor of the place, came in Perſon to the Priſon, ſpoke home to the Souldier, and made him underſtand, it would go very ill with him, if he did not turn *Catholick* : The Souldier was not a whit mov'd at all this: But at length he began to relent and yield to the gentle inſtances of the Lady Governeſs. Yet not without entring into a formal Treaty, for fear of a ſurprize, and being hang'd when converted. In ſhort, they gave him all the ſecurity he deſir'd for his Life, and they kept their words. When the Souldier was got clearly off, his Comrades made it appear

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he had never been a *Hugonot*, but to the day of his impriſonment had always been a *Roman-Catholick* : Madam *de Chamilly* was ſo vex'd when ſhe knew it, ſhe would have had the Souldier try'd again for his Crime : But the buſineſs was over, he had obtain'd his Pardon, and the Matter was paſt bringing about.

Par. Sir, I ſee you will not have opportunity this day, to make uſe of the Arguments in your little Book : Theſe Gentlemen make great Complaints, and are not wanting in words to expreſs them. Let me adviſe you to put up your Book in your Pocket : Methinks, our Diſcourſe has been ſo long, 'tis now time to take a little Breath. But to interrupt as little as may be a buſineſs we are all ſo much concern'd in, I think we may do well to proceed in our Diſcourſe, and finiſh to morrow.

The end of the Firſt Diſcourſe.

The Laſt Efforts
OF
Afflicted Innocence.

The Second Diſcourſe.

Prov. Cath. GEntlemen, you ſhall not eſcape me to day: We have given you leave to Attack us, and muſt now ſee how well you can defend your ſelves: That Gentleman jeer'd me, that I was oblig'd yeſterday to put up again my Book in my Pocket: But I'le take it out now, and you ſhall, if you pleaſe Gentlemen, preſently give your Anſwers to the Objections of my Author.

Hug.

Hug. Law. Your Author, Sir, is none of the Greateſt: He is a Scribler of Libels, a man without a Name, one that hides himſelf in a Corner, to ſhoot at us like a baſe treacherous Fellow, when moſt of the World beſide glory to appear eminent among thoſe who deſtroy us. But we will put upon him the Value you pleaſe: If we cannot anſwer him, it will be our fault, having had time enough to provide for it: Every ſeditious Monk and hot-headed writer have made the ſame Objections againſt us: Theſe things have been a hundred times charg'd upon us, and as often anſwer'd: But I am very ſenſible, they are concern'd now more than ever, to inſiſt upon and maintain theſe Calumnies: 'Tis no wonder to ſee them endeavour to ſtain the Reputation of thoſe they uſe as Enemies of the State: Our Loyalty is a continual Reproach to our Perſecutors: We cannot be ſurpriz'd to ſee them Labouring ſo earneſtly to blemiſh it.

Prov. This, Sir, is beating the Air, and complaining without Cauſe: That which I have to ſay and to read to you, is certain and indiſputable matter of Fact: Hear what our Church-man ſays. *Theſe Gentlemen have gain'd themſelves no more advantage by adding, They had never been*

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ſo unfortunate to render themſelves unworthy of thoſe Conceſſions : For if I were allow'd to call to mind, and relate here what paſs'd in the Raign of Lewis *the* 13th. *of triumphant Memory, they would find it very difficult to perſwade the World of the truth of what they ſay : We may ſee by the Edicts publiſhed on that occaſion, to what point the diſobedience of thoſe Gentlemen had reduc'd that great Prince* : You may read what follows, and ſee the terms the Edict of *Niort* of 27*th.* of *May* 1621. is penn'd in, where the King complains of Exorbitances committed by thoſe of your Religion, of Politick Aſſemblies, of Rebellions, of taking up Arms, of Orders ſent into the Provinces, to ſeize his Majeſties Revenue and Finances, of Commiſſions given for making great Guns, and for raiſing of Souldiers : You will meet with the ſieges of *Montauban*, *Rochell*, *Montpellier* and *Privas*, and many actions of Rebellion committed by you in the late times, when you would not obey the King's Orders, whereby your Churches were to be demoliſh'd, and you were prohibited to preach in certain places : But hear what he ſays after : *To which they add*, as if they were the moſt miſerable People of the World, that without looking back into times long ſince paſt, their preſent

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Condition is very different from that they were in ſome years ago: We know very well theſe Gentlemen ſigh for thoſe times, they call, longſince paſt, in which they were ſo formidable: 'Tis true, we are not now in the times of their Enterprizes of *Ambois* and *Meaux*, and thoſe other attempts of theirs, when they call'd in the *Engliſh* and the *Rheiters* to their aſſiſtance to Sack all our Provinces, to Rob and pull down our Churches, to ſurprize the Towns of greateſt importance, to give Battel within view of *Paris*, and in ſight of their King. And when they were not aſham'd to propoſe to *Charles* the 9*th.* to diſarm firſt, if he would have peace with them; and to ſend back for that purpoſe thoſe ſix thouſand *Swiſſes* he had call'd in for the ſafety of his Perſon, and of the State. Here, Sir, in few lines is a great deal of buſineſs, you will not eaſily rid your hands of.

The Battel of St. Denis, in 1567.

Hug. Law. I le do my endeavour, Sir, I very well know, that a hundred Authors before yours, charge on us as a great Crime the Civil Wars of the laſt Age, and of the beginning of this. But if you will give us the hearing, we will examine who ought to bear the blame of them.

Hug.

Hug. Gent. Sir, Before you anſwer this Anonymus Author, I think you may do well to ſpeak a little to what I read to day in a Book of Dr. *Arnaud*, intituled, *The Overthrow of the Morals of Jeſus Chriſt by the* Calviniſts: I ſee it on the Table there, and will, if you pleaſe, read you the paſſage. *The firſt Chriſtians had no other Arms but their Faith and their Patience: Nothing could ever* Book 1. Ch. 5. *move them to uſe force for ruining Idolatry. But as for them, as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves in a Condition to reſiſt the Powers ordain'd by God, they fill'd* Europe *with bloody Wars, they chang'd the Governments of States, broke down the Images, polluted the Altars, burnt the Churches, and prophan'd the moſt holy things.* You know this Monſieur *Arnaud* hath gain'd himſelf a great Reputation among his Party: And what he ſays is of more weight, than what is ſaid by an Author without Merit and without a Name.

Hug. Law. The Charge is the ſame, though the Accuſers are different. By anſwering either, we anſwer both. Save that Dr. *Arnaud* aims farther than the Anonymus Church-man, and lays his Accuſation general, againſt all the Reformed of *Europe*, as if they had kindled a War and

alter'd the Government, where-ever the Reformation was introduc'd: The generality of this Charge deserves a particular Consideration, and if these Gentlemen please, I will let them see how unjust it is.

Par. We shall gladly give you the hearing. 'Tis a thing we had to say to you, in Justification of the Conduct of the Ministers against you, and of the design the King hath to destroy you. And I explain it thus: You are naturally inclin'd to a Republican Government, you hate Monarchy, and your Sect hath not made appear that Spirit of Rebellion, that animates it in *France* alone, but in the *Low-Countries*, in *Germany*, in *England*: And generally in all places where it is establish'd, you have shaken off the Yoke of your Lawful Princes, and fetled your Religion by taking up Arms against your Soveraigns.

Eng. Law. If a Gentleman so clear-sighted as you, can charge us so unjustly, what Equity can we expect from those ordinary understandings which are guided wholly by prejudice? To hear you speak, one would think we had in every place set up the Standard of Rebellion: And that like Mahomet we had establish'd our Sect by force of Arms. The ground of all this is

no

no other, but that in the time of our Reformation, the *Low-Countries* withdrew themſelves from under the Dominion of *Spain*; and the Proteſtants of *Germany* had ſome engagements with *Charles* the 5*th*. To let you ſee the injuſtice of this Complaint, I muſt intreat you to take a ſhort view of the States, where our Reformation is eſtabliſh'd; and you will ſee whether it hath entred every where by Arms and Rebellion. As to *England*, all the World knows, the Reformation was introduc'd there by Authority of the Soveraign, not by popular Sedition: *Henry* the 8*th*. ſhook off the Yoke of the Pope, and enfranchis'd his Kingdom from the Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*. *Edward* the 6*th*. his Son and Succeſſor finiſhed what he began. *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* deſtroy'd all her Father and Brother had done, and brought the Kingdom again under the Dominion of the *Roman* Church: *Elizabeth* her Siſter overthrew all *Mary* had done, reſtabliſh'd the Reformation of the Proteſtants in all her Dominions, and ſtrengthned it by a Raign of above forty years. *Swede* was reform'd under the Authority of *Guſtavus Erikson*, whom your moſt Catholick Writers cannot reproach with any thing, but his baniſh- 1523.

ing the *Roman* Religion out of his Countries. He was deſcended of the Ancient *Gothiſh* Kings, and Grandchild to *Charles Chanut* King of *Swede*. He was choſen King of *Swede*, by all the States of that Kingdom with univerſal joy, and great acclamation, as having merited that Honour by the great Service he had done his Country, in delivering it from the tyranny of the *Danes*: This then was no uſurper, but a Lawful King: A Prince of ſo much goodneſs and wiſdom as *Swede* ever had. He Raign'd happily thirty ſeven years, and in acknowledgment of his Merit, the *Swedes* made their Crown hereditary in favour of his Children, which had before been Elective. This Prince reform'd Religion in his Countries without Violence, without Threats, but by fair and gentle Means, without a Sword drawn, or drop of Blood ſhed: *Denmark* receiv'd the Reformation the ſame time under *Frederick* and *Chriſtiern* the 3*d*. his Son without Violence, and only by the Authority of theſe two Princes. The laſt *Roman-Catholick* King of *Denmark* was *Chriſtiern* the 2*d*. whom *F. Maimburg*, in his Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm* deſcribes as a Monſter. He aſſur'd himſelf the Conqueſt of *Swede* by the moſt inhumane and barbarous Action Hiſtory ever men-

mention'd. That is, by *Maſſacring* the Senate, and all the flower of the Nobility of the Kingdom at a Feaſt he invited them to: This Tyrant was driven out of *Denmark* by his Subjects there, who call'd in *Frederiek* Duke of *Holſtein*, and plac'd him on the Throne. This *Frederick* was a Prince as eminent for wiſdom, and renowned for goodneſs, as *Chriſtern* the laſt who made profeſſion there of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, was infamous for his Wickedneſs, Treachery and Cruelty. For proof of this truth, I rely not on a Witneſs lyable to ſuſpition, but on Father *Maimbourg*, in his firſt Book of the Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*: I have already made out a conſiderable number of the Reformed Countries, where it appears the Reformation was not introduc'd by revolt of the Subject, but eſtabliſh'd by Authority of the Soveraign. The *Swiſſes* were a free State before the Reformation, and therefore at liberty to make choice of their Religion, and may be added to the number of Countries reform'd without Rebellion.

Par. Let me adviſe you, Sir, to ſtop there: For if you ſtep but a little further, you will come to *Geneva*, your Metropolis and your *Rome*: And I believe, you will find it a hard task, to juſtifie their manner

of changing the Ancient Religion there: They expell'd their Biſhop, depriv'd the Dukes of *Savoy* of the ancient Rights they had in the City, erected themſelves into a ſoveraign Republick againſt all ſorts of Right, Humane and Divine.

Hug. Law. I think, Gentlemen, you have no cauſe to ſuſpect the Hiſtory of *Geneva*, lately publiſhed by Monſieur *Spon*: He affects a ſincerity not very pleaſing to the Proteſtants: They of *Geneva* have judg'd it ſo little favourable to them, they have prohibited the ſale of the Book in their City. And it has plea'd the Enemies of the Proteſtants ſo well, they have given it high Elogies and magnificent Approbations: However I will rely on what that Author ſays. If you read that Hiſtory, Sir, you will find the Biſhop of *Geneva* was not in any Age Soveraign of the City; true it is, he had ſome rights over the temporalties of it, as ſome Biſhops of *France*, (particularly thoſe who are Dukes, Earls, and Peers of the Kingdom) have over their Sees and Epiſcopal Cities, as the Biſhop of *Strasbourg* had there, as the Elector and Arch-biſhop of *Cologne* hath over that City: But theſe are not rights of Soveraignty: The Biſhop of *Geneva* never was a Soveraign Prince, but the Syndic and Councel of

of the City have always been Soveraign Magiſtrates in Civil Affairs: The Hiſtorian tells you further; the Duke of *Savoy* never had any lawful right over the City of *Geneva*: They have had Judges who were called *Vidons*; but the Judges had juriſdiction over no other but *Savoyards*, ſettled in the Territory of *Geneva*: And 'twas by meer ſufferance of the *Genevois*, the Dukes of *Savoy* had a right of Jurisdiction over the *Savoyards* in their City. 'Tis confeſs'd, the Dukes of *Savoy* have ſometimes kept their Court in *Geneva*, but without any Authority, other than the permiſſion of the *Syndics* and Councel of the City. This Author informs you alſo, that the Dukes of *Savoy* reſolv'd at any rate to make themſelves Maſters of *Geneva*, got a Creature of theirs, *Peter de la Baum* to be made Biſhop. This man, being a Traytor to the City, he ought to have protected, did all in his Power to bring it under the Tyranny of the *Savoyards*: Thoſe who moſt vigorouſly oppos'd this Enterprize, and oblig'd him firſt to retire, were very Zealous *Roman-Catholicks*. They put themſelves under the protection of the *Canton* of *Fribourg*, which had been, and was then of the *Roman-Catholick* perſwaſion. The Doctrine of the Reformed was preach'd in the

City, many were converted, the Biſhop return'd to oppoſe them. He had a great Conteſt with the Senate about ſome Priſoners, he pretended, belong'd to him, in prejudice of the Councel of the City, who was judicially poſſeſs'd of their Buſineſs: The Councel carryed it againſt the Biſhop, and remain'd Maſters of the Priſoners, the ſubject of this Controverſie was matter of Jurisdiction, not of Religion. The Biſhop having loſt the Cauſe, withdrew out of the City. He was ſo far from being expell'd or driven away, that his Authority was own'd there a long time after. But diſcovery being made of ſeveral Conſpiracies of this Biſhop, tending to an abſolute ſuppreſſion, both of the Religion and Liberty of the City, being then for the moſt part reform'd, his Authority at laſt expir'd in a little State he was not able to manage; the free People of it having made choice of a Religion contrary to his.

Par. 'Tis eaſie, in ſo ſhort an Account as you give, to cover truths with falſhoods: the matters of Fact are for the moſt part disguis'd: And it would not be difficult to give them another Face, which would repreſent this Enterprize a meer Rebellion: But 'twill be too long a digreſſion to enter into particulars of this nature; We had

had rather hear what you can ſay in favour of your Proteſtants of *Germany*.

Hug. Law. I ſay, Sir, there's no reaſon to accuſe them of Rebellion againſt their Soveraigns. 'Tis perhaps the League of *Smalcald* you would lay to their Charge: It was, Sir, a League defenſive only: *F. Maimbourg* ſhall witneſs it. They concluded, ſays he, their League of mutual defence againſt all thoſe who would trouble them in the exerciſe of their Religion. The ſame Author tells us, that if the Proteſtant Princes had any deſign to prevent the Emperor, and take up Arms before him, *Luther* oppos'd it. And the Letter he writ on that Subject to the Elector of *Saxony*, may be ſeen at this day at the beginning of the firſt Tome of *Luthers* works: Is there any thing more natural, than to unite in order to common ſafety? This League was not made by Rebels and ſeditious Subjects, but by Soveraign Princes: 'Tis very well known, the Emperor is not Maſter of the Empire, which is a Confederation of ſeveral States united under one Head, yet reſerving to themſelves their Liberty and Soveraignty. In matters of Peace and War, Impoſitions, raiſing Armies, and all other Acts of Soveraignty, the Princes and free Towns do what they pleaſe:

Hiſt. Luth. lib. 3. An. 1531.

They

They make War one againſt another: They end their differences as they pleaſe, and enter, when they think fit, into Intereſts contrary to thoſe of the Emperor: If the Emperor attempt any thing againſt the Priviledges of any Member of the Empire, they remedy themſelves by Arms, without incurring the penalty or name of Rebels. Who knows not this, muſt be a ſtranger to the Hiſtory of *Germany*: The *Golden Bull* is expreſs in it. Declaring, that if the Emperor violate any Right or Priviledge belonging by that Bull to the Members of the Empire, the Princes Eccleſiaſtical and Secular have Power to oppoſe him, and cannot on that account be charg'd with Rebellion: Nor can the Proteſtants of *Germany* be charg'd with Rebellion for entring into the League of *Smalcald*. Which was not more againſt the Emperor, than againſt all other who ſhould perſecute them. True it is, theſe Confederates ten years after had War with *Charles* the 5*th*. but were forc'd into it: They did not take up Arms firſt, the Emperor form'd a deſign to deſtroy them, and they were oblig'd to defend themſelves: Beſides, there is nothing more falſe, than that this was properly a War of Religion. That was only a pretence by which *Charles* the 5th. engag'd Pope *Paul* the

the 3d. in the League againſt the Confederates of *Smalcald*. The Pope indeed would have it paſs for a holy War, undertaken for the deſtruction of Hereſie. The Emperor on the contrary publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, wherein he profeſſed, *That the War he was entring into, was not a War of Religion: That this appear'd clearly by his permitting liberty of Conſcience to the* Lutheran *Princes and Souldiers, who faithfully ſerv'd him in his Armies, and that he had not entred into a League with the Pope, otherwiſe than as a Prince who aſſiſted him againſt the Common Enemy:* Tis certain he had in his Army many Proteſtant Princes, particularly, *Maurice* and *Auguſtus* Dukes of *Saxony*, and *Albert* and *John Marqueſſes* of *Brandenbourg*. *Charles* whoſe Ambition knew no bounds, had no other deſign, but to deſtroy the liberty of the Empire, and to make it Hereditary in his Family: This appear'd by the conſequence of the War, wherein though he had all the good Fortune he could hope for, he perform'd not a tittle of what he had promis'd the Pope: He endeavour'd not the deſtruction of *Lutheraniſm*, but having taken the Confederate Towns, put them to great Ranſoms, and drew from them vaſt Sums of Money, and huge quantities of Ammunition, but left

left them at full liberty to profess what Religion they pleas'd. The Pope perceiving himself abus'd, he call'd home his Nephew and his Troops, which return'd miserably scatter'd into *Italy*. All the Benefit he reap'd by this War, was vexation at heart, for having assisted *Charles* to oppress *Germany*, and having open'd him a way for oppressing *Italy*: But how can it be imagin'd, *Charles* the fifth undertook this War out of Zeal to Religion, when, if he was of any Religion, he was perhaps more a *Lutheran* than a *Roman-Catholick*. Which there is just cause to believe, because *Ponce de Leon* his Confessor and depositary of his most secret thoughts, in whose Arms he expir'd, was condemn'd to be burnt as an *Heretick* by *Philip* the Son of *Charles*: I see on your Table, the Abridgement of the History of *France* by *Mezeray*, the first Edition. Let us see, what he says, the last Age thought of it. This Author is a *Roman-Catholick* and judicious: He is read by all, and you cannot suspect him: *Philip*, *Ann.* 1559. says he, *At his arrival into* Spain, *caus'd to be burnt in his presence at* Seville *and Valladolid, a great multitude of those they call* Lutherans, *Men and Women, Gentlemen and Church-men, and the Effigies of* Constantius Pontius, *Confessor to* Charles *the* 5th.

5th. *who attended him to his death.* 'Tis no wonder he was not afraid to ſtain the Memory of his Father; for, if ſome may be credited, he was about to have an information put in againſt him, and to have his bones burnt as an *Heretick*. And that he forbore this proceeding for no other reaſon, than that his Father had been an *Heretick*, he was thereby deveſted of his Eſtates, and conſequently, had no right to reſign them to his Son. *Philip* indeed appear'd a great Zealot for his Religion. But if you will believe the *Germans*, the terrible hatred he had againſt the Proteſtants, proceeded not ſo much from his love to the Catholick Church, as from his violent reſentment againſt the *Lutheran* Confederates, who oppos'd the Deſign of *Charles* the *5th.* to make him aſſociate of the Empire with *Ferdinand* his Brother, whoſe Succeſſor in the Empire *Philip* aſpir'd to be. But to return to our Subject, I ſay, the *Germans* fought for their Religion and Liberty by Power inherent in the Princes of the Empire, who are as much Maſters of their States, as the Emperor of his: *Maurice* of *Saxony* effected what *Frederick* could not. He recovered the Liberty of *Germany*, and broke the Yoke under which it groan'd. Having thus juſtifi'd the Proteſtants

testants of *Germany*. I know of no other but the States of the United Provinces, who are charg'd to have chang'd their Religion, to set up and maintain a new form of Government.

Par. Ah! Sir, as for them, I advise you for your credit, not to engage in their defence: 'Tis so publickly notorious, they were Subjects of *Spain*, and that in changing their Religion, they chang'd their Master by as plain a Rebellion as ever was in the World, I am so much your Friend, I would not have you undertake their Cause.

Hug. Law. No, Sir, I will not undertake it: 'Tis done to my hand. Read what the learned *Grotius* hath writ of the Original and Government of the Provinces of the *Low-Countreys*: Read their Historians, read ours. You will find these People never were absolutely Subjects of *Spain*, that the Earls of *Holland* never were their absolute Masters, that the Government was mix'd, partly Aristocratical, partly Monarchick. These Historians will tell you, the Provinces of the *Low-Countries* were reform'd long before they took up Arms against the King of *Spain*; that in the first Wars there was an equal, if not a greater

Grotius *de antiquitate Reipublicæ Batavicæ.*

greater number of *Roman-Catholick*, than of *Proteſtant* Lords and Towns engag'd againſt the Catholick King. That the States choſe the Duke of *Alanſon*, a Son of *France*, a *Roman-Catholick* for their Maſter: That before that Election, they had ſubmitted themſelves to Arch-Duke *Matthias* a good *Roman-Catholick*: You will ſee there, that the horrible Cruelties of the Duke of *Alva* forc'd this poor People beyond the bounds of patience: That Tyrant boaſted he had deſtroy'd by the hands of the common Executioner eighteen thouſand Perſons, and had made the Confiſcations of the Condemn'd, amount to eight millions of Gold yearly. You may, if you pleaſe, read in *Mezeray's* Abridgement, who is neither *Hollander* nor *Hugonot*, *That before the Duke of* Alva *left* Spain, *they arreſted the Marquiſs of* Berguen, *and* Floris de Mentmorency Montigny, *who were gone from the States of the* Low-Countries, *to make their Remonſtrances to King* Philip: *The former dyed of grief, or was poiſon'd; the other was Beheaded, though both were good* Roman-Catholicks: *By which it appear'd, the Council of* Spain *had form'd their deſign againſt the Liberty of the* Low-Countries *as much* (*at leaſt*) *as againſt their new Religion.* An. 1557.

If

If you have a mind to hear any more of the *Low-Country* Wars, let us read *Mezeray* in the ſame place: This year, ſaid he, *They make the beginning of the* Low-Country *Wars, which laſted till the Peace of* Munſter *without intermiſſion, other than that of the Truce agreed by the mediation of* Hen. 4th. The fear of the Inquiſition was the principal Cauſe of the War. The Inquiſition was extremely pernicious and inſupportable to the *Flemings*, for beſides the two violent rigors it exercis'd againſt thoſe who had embrac'd the new Opinions, it broke off all Commerce, *&c.* The very Clergy was no leſs diſpleas'd at it for the ſeven newly erected Biſhopricks, taken out of the Metropolitan Dioceſſes of *Rhemes*, *Treves* and *Cologne*, and the Biſhopricks of *Liege* and *Munſter*; becauſe they had appropriated to theſe new erected Biſhoprieks the richeſt Abbies of the *Low-Countries*, and beſtow'd them on Prelates at the Devotion of the Councel of *Spain*: So that under pretence of maintaining the ancient Religion, the *Spaniards* labour'd to eſtabliſh an abſolute Dominion in Provinces, which owe but a limited Obedience according to their Laws and their Priviledges. This, Sir, was the true ſource of theſe Wars, wherein not only the Lay-ſubjects of both

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Religions, but the *Roman-Catholick* Clergy of the *Low-Countries*, were engag'd againſt the King of *Spain* for the preſervation of their Liberty. Read *Strada*, whom you cannot ſuſpect of partiality in our favour, and you will diſcover through all the Diſguiſements of that Author, that it was not Religion, but the Cruelty of the *Spaniſh* Government, was the ſole Cauſe of the revolt of thoſe Provinces: If all this will not ſatisfie you, I will give you leave, Sir, to brand the memory of our Kings, who maintain'd the Rights of theſe Provinces, thought their Cauſe juſt, and ſupported them againſt the enterprizes of a Maſter, who had loſt his juſt Rights of Lawful Soveraignty over them, by endeavouring to be their Tyrant.

Par. I ſee we ſhall never agree in this point: We were better return to our Civil Wars of *France*, wherein thoſe of your Religion have ſpilt ſo much Blood, and appear'd always of a Spirit inclin'd to Rebellion.

Hug. Law. If you think we have nothing to ſay for our ſelves, you are very much miſtaken, Sir: We have ſo many things to anſwer, we know not what Method to put them in, nor how to comprehend them in few words: The Wars you

would charge us with as a Crime, have been Civil Wars, of the ſame nature with others rais'd in the Bowels of a State, by the diſcontent of the People, and the jealouſie of the great ones; to which, Religion was but an accidental ingredient: This, Sir, I undertake to prove evidently by Hiſtory. But before I enter on that, I beg leave to make ſome Reflections: Is it not a great piece of injuſtice, in thoſe who read the Hiſtory of the laſt Age, to fix their eyes on thoſe thirty years only, which paſs'd between the death of *Henry* the 2*d.* and that of *Henry* the 3*d.* without taking notice of the forty years elaps'd, during the Raign of *Francis* the 1*ſt.* and *Henry* the 2*d*? If they charge us with having been engag'd in the Civil Wars thoſe thirty years, ought they not to commend the patience we had for forty years before? Admit it, we were afterwards more impatient than we ought; however 'tis true, that for almoſt half an Age, we patiently endur'd unheard of Cruelties, without ſeeking any means of Revenge or Defence. During the Raigns of *Henry* the 2*d.* and *Francis* the 1*ſt.* the Land was overflowed with our Blood, the Priſons were full of our poor Captives, the Executioners were imploy'd in nothing elſe but burning and quartering

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thoſe poor Wretches, who were not guilty of any other Crime, but praying to God in a Language they underſtood, and refuſing to adore any thing, but what they knew to be God: There is no ſort of Cruelty but was exercis'd upon them; they were burnt; they had their Members pluck'd off with hot Pinſers; they were rack'd and put to all ſorts of Tortures; they were buried alive: There were horrible Maſſacres committed upon them: Such were thoſe of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*, wherein they ras'd Houſes and Towns, laid waſte a whole Country, cut the Throats of ſeveral thouſands of Perſons, and caus'd others to periſh by Famine on the Mountains. The Court made it a divertiſement to ſee the horrible Torments theſe poor People ſuffer'd. You ſhall hear the Account *Mezeray* gives of it. *There was, ſays he, a general Proceſſion at* Noſtre-dame, *where the King aſſiſted, to declare by this action the Zeal he had to maintain the Religion of his Anceſtors, and to puniſh thoſe who would change it.* This he confirm'd by the horrible Torments of many miſerable Proteſtants, who were burnt at the place of Execution in *Paris*. They were hoys'd up with a Pulley and an iron Chain, and

Mezeray's *Abridgment, &c. Ann.* 1548.

then let fall into a great fire. This was often reiterated: The King was ſo pleas'd with it, that he fed his eyes with this Tragick Spectacle: And 'tis ſaid, the horrible Cryes of one of theſe Wretches affected him ſo, that all his Life after, he was from time to time haunted with a very troubleſome remembrance of it: I ſhould ſcarce have reported this, had the Relation been made by any Author not a *Roman-Catholick*, for it would have been look'd upon as falſe and incredible. Thoſe horrible imaginations that from time to time perſecuted *Henry* the 2*d*. did not reform him. His Raign was ſtain'd throughout with the Blood of his Proteſtant Subjects: In all places of the Kingdom, Fires were kindled and Gibbets ſet up to deſtroy them. The Dutcheſs of *Valentinois*, that King's Miſtreſs, making great advantage of the Confiſcations of the Proteſtants, ſerv'd as a fury to awaken his Cruelty every moment: That laſcivious ſhe-Wolf thirſting after the blood of the Faithful, and with a ravenous Appetite coveting their Eſtates, demanded their death as a recompence, for thoſe criminal favours ſhe was ſo liberal of to her King and her Pages: If theſe poor People met at night in a private Houſe for Inſtruction and Comfort, they were ſurpriz'd,

and

and us'd as Sorcerers found at a Sabbath adoring the Devil. To add a Perſecution more cruel then the reſt, they publiſh'd Calumnies againſt them, blacker then the Devil had ever invented; they renew'd againſt them all the old Accuſations of the *Pagans* againſt the Primitive Chriſtians: They charg'd them with ſtrange Crimes, ſays *Mezeray*; it was ſaid, they roſted little Children, and having made great Cheer, put out the Lights, and turned the place into a Brothel; a great number of them was burnt. In all this time did any one take up Arms? Perhaps they were ſo weak, you will ſay, they durſt not; I am of Opinion, the Reformed were as numerous about the end of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as at the beginning of the Reign of *Francis* the ſecond, when the firſt Troubles began: 'Tis not to be imagin'd, that vaſt multitude of People was converted in five or ſix months; there were at that time of the Reformed Religion, ſome Princes, ſeveral great Lords, many principal Officers of the Crown, and of the People an infinite number. *Mezeray* tells us, that in one of their Meetings they ſurpriz'd ſome of the Queens Maids of Honour; yet not one of the Reformed thought of making any defence

Mez. Abr. An. 1557.

under the Reign of this Prince, who perſecuted them with Fire and Sword: Can you wonder, that having been driven to extremity by long and continual Violences, they had no more patience, but at laſt endeavour'd ſome means to ſave themſelves from the fury of their Tormentors?

Par. You know the primitive Chriſtians did not ſo; they had no other Weapons but their Prayers and Tears, to defend themſelves againſt the Perſecutions of the *Pagan* Emperors.

Hug. Law. I wonder Sir, how thoſe of whom you have borrowed that Reflection, dare produce the Example of the Primitive Chriſtians. 'Tis true, the Primitive Chriſtians had not any Arms to defend themſelves; nor had they any to attack with: They did not burn Hereticks, but labour'd their Converſion. There is not a more certain Character of a falſe Church, or falſe Zeal, then Perſecution, Violence, and Fury: There have ſate on the Imperial Throne, *Conſtantines* and *Theodoſii*, as well as *Decij* and *Diocletians*; but a *Conſtantine* or a *Theodoſius* never made uſe of Arms againſt the *Pagan* Religion, which had made ſo many Martyrs: 'Tis not out of Charity alone, that Chriſtian Princes ought to forbear attacking a falſe Religion with puniſh-

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ment and torture; but out of Prudence the Church only can have Martyrs, and ought not to be robb'd of the Glory of that Priviledge, and that powerful argument for proof of her Doctrine: Nothing raiſes a greater prejudice againſt the conſtancy of true Martyrs, then the obſtinacy of Hereticks, who perſiſt in their Opinions to Death. Our Accuſers, Sir, are very unjuſt in their proceeding with us; to have the Sword in one hand, and the Faggot in the other; to cover Towns and Countries with dead Bodies; to deſtroy pell-mell the Innocent with the Guilty; to ſhed the blood of Infants; Women and old Men having one foot in the Grave; to commit Maſſacres; to drown *France* with the blood of its Inhabitants; to Burn, Quarter, and invent new Torments: This is laudable Zeal, merit of the higheſt degree, that raiſes men to be Saints, equal with St. *Dominick*. But if a poor *Hugonot* lift up his Arm to put by the blow that is made at him, this is fury and rage, and the fruit of a ſpirit oppoſite to that of the true Church: I cannot forbear applying to this purpoſe, what St. *Athanaſius* ſaid to them who reproach'd him with making his Eſcape; *If they think it a ſhame to me, to have made my Eſcape, let them be aſham'd to have forc'd me to it by their Perſe-*

cution. When Men run away, 'tis an argument of the Cruelty of thoſe they run from: We fly not from the Gentle and Courteous, but the Bloody and the Cruel. There is no defence where there is no Perſecution. I confeſs it, Men are Men; the love of Life is ſtrong and powerful, the inclinations and Counſels of fleſh and bloud prevail often over thoſe of ſtrict Piety. Were it true, that our Fathers took up Arms to ſave their Lives, 'tis a weakneſs they ought to be pardon'd for, in an Age which may very well be called an Age of Fury.

Par. In my opinion, Chriſtian Vertues ought to be conſtant; what is done out of a principle of vertue in one time, ought to be done in another, for true vertue is always the ſame; Perſeverance is the Character and the Proof of its truth: Had thoſe of your Religion endur'd out of a principle of Chriſtian Conſtancy, the ills done them under the Reigns of *Francis* the firſt, and *Henry* the ſecond, 'tis probable the ſame Conſtancy would have accompanied them under the Reigns of *Francis* the ſecond, and *Charles* the ninth.

Hug. Law. The ſame vertue, Sir, uſes a different Conduct at different times. *Francis* the firſt, and *Henry* the ſecond, were Princes

Princes at full age and of years of Diſcretion; they acted as they thought fit, their own Faculties were their Guides, there is no doubt but God had eſtabliſh'd them for the exerciſe and tryal of his Church in her new Birth. They were Perſons of a Character, againſt which we were not permitted to lift up a hand: But *Francis* the ſecond was a Child, a weak Child, incapable of buſineſs, and govern'd by bloudy Princes, who in his Name did what they pleas'd, and would have extirpated the Houſe of *Bourbon* and the whole Proteſtant Party. *Charles* the ninth took the Scepter in hand at an Age he was as little capable to Govern as *Francis* the ſecond: 'Tis certain, Subjects are not oblig'd to bear the Grievances done them by thoſe who uſurp and abuſe the Royal Authority, with the ſame ſubmiſſion they ought to receive the Miſeries they endure, by the ill uſe Kings make of their proper Authority. Hence it proceeds, that the Reigns of moſt of our Kings in Minority, are troubled with Civil Wars, when thoſe who have poſſeſt themſelves of the Kings Perſon, abuſe his Name, and the People think not themſelves oblig'd to ſubmit to a Tyrannical Power newly uſurp'd: We obſerv'd not nor acknowledg'd in the Princes of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, any Character that could

could oblige us to ſuffer their Perſecutions they declar'd and acted againſt us, much leſs could we acknowledge any ſuch Character in the Pope, his Subſtitutes, or his Clergy, the firſt Authors of our Miſeries. Theſe were our Enemies, theſe were the Party we engag'd againſt, a Party that had no right to uſe us ſo barbarouſly. 'Twas not againſt our Kings, but this ſort of People, we firſt took up Arms. True it is, our Kings coming afterwards to their Majority, found themſelves engag'd before-hand to proſecute our ruine; and we having our Swords in our hands, made uſe of them to avoid the violence and fury of their Miniſters. But we never wanted either Love to their Perſons or Faithfulneſs in their Service: In the heat of the Civil Wars, our *Hugonots* had conſtantly true *French* hearts, and an inviolable Fidelity to their Kings. We are reproach'd with the coming in of the *Engliſh* and the *Rheiſters* into *France*. Thoſe who introduc'd them never deſign'd to make them Maſters of the State; but I can prove it by a hundred Evidences, that the League which oppos'd us, had a deſign to take the Crown of *France* from the lawful Heirs, and to bring the Kingdom under the Dominion of *Spain*. In the firſt Civil Wars under *Charles* the ninth, the Princes had obliged

ged themſelves to give *Havre de Grace* to the *Engliſh* for ſecurity: The *Hugonots* had no ſooner obtained Peace, but they labour'd with more Zeal then any other Subjects of *France* to regain the place.

Mezeray gives you an account of it: All the *French*, ſays he, applyed themſelves with extraordinary ardour to recover the Town: The *Hugonots* were more forward and eager then the *Catholicks*, to purge themſelves from the Reproach caſt upon them of having introduc'd Strangers into *France*. In the late Wars for Religion, the *Rochelois* reduc'd to the laſt Extremities, were ſolicited by the Duke of *Buckingham* to yield to the King of *England*, and acknowledge him their Soveraign; and in caſe they would do ſo, he promis'd they ſhould be ſuccour'd in a far better manner then they had been. They rejected the Propoſal with contempt, and choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to all the Rigors of their Prince highly incens'd, then to enter under the Dominion of a Stranger: I could produce many ſuch Examples to prove that our *Hugonots* though in Arms were never guided by a Spirit of Rebellion, but took care only how to ſave their Religion and their Lives: But enough of theſe Reflections. If you think fit, we will now come

Mez. Abr. An. 1563.

come to the principal matter, and consider of those Wars which are charg'd on us as a very high *Crime*.

Par. In arguing, men turn things as they please; our business now, is matter of Fact and Historical Relation, which must be done without shift or disguise, that the truth may appear. Pray, think of that, Sirs, and do not enlarge your selves in useless Reflections.

Hug. Law. 'Tis my intention to do as you advise, you shall have no Harangues from us, I will only relate plain matter of Fact. And that my Evidence may neither be suspitious nor obscure, I will make use of no other then Monsieur *Mezeray*'s Abridgment, which I have in my hand. I will lay aside the History of *Thuanus*, as written in a learned Language, because I will not say any thing but what all the World may examine the truth of. They reckon six Wars from the first taking up Arms in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* the ninth, till the end of the Reign of *Henry* the third, that is, that Arms were so many times taken up after the Rupture of the Edicts of Pacification obtain'd by the Reformed. Our principal business will be to justify the first taking up Arms by the Princes, of which the rest are but *Consequents*: This first War cannot

not be better defin'd, then by saying, it was formed by the jealousy of two Partys, in dispute not about Religion but the Government: That it was fomented by *Katherine de Medicis* Regent of *France*, under her *Children* in their Minority, and that it was maintained by Zeal for Religion, which came in by the By, and made it so cruel and barbarous, nothing being more furious and brutal then false Zeal. We will examine the Rise and Progress of these two Parties: Their first rise must be taken from the last years of the Reign of *Henry* the second, which was after the loss of the Battel and Town of St. *Quintin*; the old Constable *Montmorency* and his two Nephews, the Admiral *Chatillon*, and *Dandelot* his Brother, were taken Prisoners there: The greatest and bravest of the Nobility of *France* being all perish'd or made Prisoners in those fatal Engagements, the Duke of *Guise* at his return from *Italy* was look'd upon as the sole Tutelar Angel of *France*. They would have given him the Title of *Viceroy*: But thinking it too ambitious, they gave him the Title of the Kings Lieutenant-General within and without the Kingdom, which was verified in all the Parliaments. The Constable, 'tis known, was the Favourite of *Henry* the second,

Mez. Abr. Ann. 1557, 1558.

ſecond, who lov'd him to that degree, that after his misfortune and impriſonment, unfortunate as he was, yet at his return to Court the King made him lie in his own bed. But his Abſence was fatal to him and his Family: The Duke of *Guiſe* render'd himſelf neceſſary to the King, and as *Mezeray* ſays, the misfortune of *France* was the happineſs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the fall of the Conſtable was his Exaltation: The Duke of *Guiſe* had in all his Enterprizes the ſucceſs, every one knows. He recovered *Calais* from the *Engliſh*; he took *Thionville*; he married his *Niece* the Queen of *Scots*, to the *Dauphin*, who was afterwards *Francis* the ſecond. Fortune abandon'd the Conſtable, and ſided with the Duke of *Guiſe*. Read the words of *Mezeray*, from that very time the jealouſly between theſe two Houſes, tended to the forming two contrary Parties in the Kingdom, as will appear. This is the firſt Seed of the Civil War, wherein Religion had not any part: Thence forward, the Houſe of *Guiſe* us'd all its power to deſtroy *Montmorency*'s Party. The Duke met with the pretence of Religion luckily by the way: Admiral *Chatillon*, and *Dandelot* his Brother, the Conſtables Nephews, were ſuſpected; the *Spaniards* increas'd the Suſpition, by ſaying, that at the taking

taking of St. *Quintin*, they found Heretical Books amongſt *Dandelots* Baggage. *Henry* the ſecond being a violent Perſecuter, cauſed him to be arreſted, and committed him Priſoner to *Blaiſe de Montluc*, a Creature of the Duke of *Guiſe*; this was a matter agreed on by the *Guiſes* and the *Spaniards*, with deſign to weaken the Conſtable by the loſs of his Nephews. But they miſs'd their aim, the Conſtables favour brought *Dandelot* clear off, and gain'd him his Liberty: And the Authority of *Henry* the ſecond, kept the two Parties in an appearance of Peace during the reſt of his life, which was not long; but in the beginning of the Reign of *Francis* the ſecond, the Diſcord broke out. *Mezeray* will tell you in the beginning of this Reign, the cauſe of the Civil War: *A Multitude of* Princes, ſays he, *and of puiſſant Lords, is an infallible cauſe of Civil War, when there wants Authority powerful enough to keep them within the bounds of their duty*: This was the misfortune of *France* after the death of *Henry* the ſecond. From the time of his death, the Factions form'd during his Reign, began to appear, and to fortify them the more, unhappily met with different Parties in Religion; a great number of *Male-Contents*, who long'd for change, and, which is more, many Soldiers and Officers

of

of War, who having been disbanded were desirous of Employment at any rate: Methinks that by this Relation, Religion is not the cause of the Troubles; but the cause of them were the Factions of Princes and great Lords, who meeting with Parties differing in Religion, made use of them to serve their designs. In the same place that Author makes it appear, the two Parties fought not for Religion but for Empire: On the one side were the Princes of the Bloud and the Constable; On the other, the Princes of the House of *Guise*; and between both, the Regent, who by turns made use of one to beat down and destroy the other, that she might Reign. The Princes of *Guise* having got into their hands the Person of *Francis* the second, a weak Prince, governed under his Authority in a tyrannical manner. The Princes of the Bloud, *Antony* and *Lewis de Bourbon*, who ought to have had the management of Affairs during the Kings Minority, could not endure that Strangers should enjoy an Authority and Honour belonging of right and properly to them. These Princes were ill us'd; *Antony* of *Bourbon* King of *Navar*, came to Court, but was slighted, they did not so much as give him a Lodging, and he might have lain on the Pavement, had not the

Marshal

Marshal of St *Andrew* receiv'd him. The Princes began with the Pen, and caused several Writings to be publish'd, to make it appear that the Laws of the State admit neither Women nor Strangers to the Government; that during the Minority of the Kings, this honour belongs to the Princes of the Bloud; That the *Guises* were not natural *French*; that it was dangerous to commit to them the Government of the State, because of their Pretensions on the Kingdom, in saying, they were descended from *Charlemaign*. At last, *Lewis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Condé*, resolv'd upon a dangerous attempt, to gain Possession of his Rights, which the weakness of his Brother the King of *Navarr* abandon'd, and gave up to the Princes of *Guise*. He design'd to seize the Person of King *Francis* the second, and remove the *Guises* from Court. The Admiral and *Dandelot* were of the Party, and the Prince of *Condé* was the Head: But because the success of the Enterprize was doubtful, they would not appear in it: *La Renaudie* was intrusted with the management of this great design, which goes under the name of the Conspiracy of *Amboise*, which our Church-man, whose Book you have in your hand, makes such a noise about; there cannot be a greater injustice then to

charge our *Hugonots* with this Affair. 'Tis certain there were ingag'd in that buſineſs as many *Roman Catholicks* as *Hugonots*; or if the number of *Hugonots* were greater, it was becauſe there were more *Male-Contents* of their Party; the Chancellor *de l' Hoſpital* was one. I have read in good Authors, that *La Renaudie* was a *Roman Catholick*, yet I will not undertake to juſtifie it: 'Tis agreed on all hands that all the Officers who had receiv'd Indignities at Court, and been unjuſtly expell'd thence, engag'd themſelves in the Enterpriſe, to be reveng'd of the Princes of *Guiſe*. *There was at Court*, ſays *Mezeray*, *a great number of Perſons out of all the Provinces, particularly Soldiers and Officers of War, demanding Pay or Reward. The Cardinal of* Lorrain *who had the management of the Finances, was much troubled with them, and apprehended a Conſpiracy in their multitude: This made him publiſh an Edict, commanding that all thoſe who followed the Court to demand any thing, ſhould retire on pain of being hang'd on a Gibbet, which was publickly ſet up for that purpoſe: A great part of thoſe who had ſerv'd in the Armies diſguſted with this Indignity, turn'd againſt the Cardinal.* Thus you have an account of what perſons that Party was compos'd, which would have deſtroyed the Princes of *Guiſe*, where

there

there appears ſo ſenſible and ſo clear a cauſe of Revolt, 'tis not worth our pains to go in ſearch of a hidden one: On the one ſide, the Rights of the Princes of the Bloud, which they were reſolv'd to maintain; on the other ſide, the deſign to be reveng'd of the groſſeſt affront that ever was put on Perſons of Quality, by ſetting up a Gibbet to hang them on, for no other cauſe but that they deſir'd to be paid for the bloud they had loſt, are ſo viſibly the cauſes of this Conſpiracy, that 'tis ridiculous to make Religion the only ground of it: The chief of all the *Male-Contents* was *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*: And though he appear'd not in the Enterprize, and ſeveral of the Conſpirators deny'd to the Death, his being privy to it, yet 'tis certain he was. *Mezeray* tells us, *That the Prince of* Conde *going to Court, met at* Orlians *the Lord* Cipierr, *who told him the Plot was diſcovered: And that nevertheleſs the Prince continued his Journey.* By this it appears, the Prince knew of the Plot. A little before, the ſame Author tells us, *the Conſpirators had choſen him for their Head, but not to bear any part in the action, which was to be carryed on by* La Renaude *under his Authority.* The Princes of *Guiſe* were fully convin'd of it, for they no ſooner got the Prince of *Conde* in

their power, but they cauſed him to be proceeded againſt, and Senten'd to be Beheaded.

Par. We will ſuppoſe, Sir, that you can prove the Conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, was a Conſpiracy of all the *Male-Contents*; that a Prince of the Bloud was the Head of them, and that your *Hugonots* were not more deeply concern'd in it, than others; what's that to the purpoſe? Is a Criminal leſs guilty for having Accomplices? Is it allowable on any pretence whatever, to enter into ſo Criminal a Conſpiracy againſt your King?

Hug. Law. Againſt our King? Ah, Sir, you will never be able to prove that: All our Hiſtorians bear theſe pretended Conſpirators Witneſs, they had no deſign againſt the King, or the Regent, but only againſt the Princes of *Guiſe*: Read, if you pleaſe, what *Mezeray* ſays. *They reſolv'd to preſent their Petition to the King, and to ſeize the Duke of* Guiſe *and the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *and exhibit Articles againſt them.* This was their deſign: *But who,* adds *Mezeray, could have ſecur'd the Princes of* Guiſe *from being kill'd upon the ſpot, or that the* Male-Contents *would not have made themſelves Maſters of the Perſons of the Queen Mother and the King?* 'Tis certain, it was laid to their Charge, they would have attempted both.

It

It was laid indeed to their Charge, but not prov'd; of twelve hundred Persons who perish'd on this occasion, there was not one they could get to confess this, though use was made of most violent Tortures to force them to it. *Monsieur de Thou* gives them this Testimony: *Not one of the Conspirators was convicted of any attempt against the King or the Queen, but only against Strangers, who govern'd all at Court in a tyrannical manner; that is, the Princes of the House of* Guise. *Thuan. Hist. Lib. 24.* Can you think it, Sir, so great a Crime for the Princes of the Bloud, and the Chief Officers of the Crown, to endeavour to gain their natural places and lawful Authority, by taking forceably an Infant King (and weak, when Major) out of the hands of Tyrants, who were going to hang up his Majesties good Servants, to establish the Inquisition in *France*, and to burn the true hearted *French* at the Stake? The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral were, in my opinion, Names that carryed Grandeur and Authority enough in them, to oppose very lawfully the Tyrants of *France*. Your Church-man in his Book, tacks the Enterprize of *Meaux* to that of *Amboise*, as if they were both of one nature. *We are not now*, says he, *in the time of the Enterprizes of*

Amboiſe *and* Meaux: *The man hath forgot both the Author and the end of the* Enterprize *of* Meaux: *The Head of it, was the ſame Prince of* Conde; *the end was to remove from about the King the ſame Tyrants, who under the name of Councellors, made* Charles *the ninth commit Violences which exceeded thoſe in former Reigns, and to violate Edicts and Treaties, he had by ſolemn Oaths obliged himſelf to obſerve, and made uſe of the ſeeming Peace granted to the Party of the Princes, for hatching the moſt horrible and blackeſt Treaſons that ever have been heard of.* After the firſt Civil War, the Peace was made by the Edict of the 18*th* of *March* 1563. this Peace ſerv'd only as a Cloak for a Cruel War made with more ſafety againſt the Reformed after they had been diſarm'd: The Reformed made their Complaints to the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral: But theſe two great great Men anſwer'd, ſays *Mezeray*, *That they muſt endure any thing rather than take up Arms again: That ſecond troubles would render them the horrour of all* France, *and make them the Object of the Kings hatred.* This was their Reſolution; but when a Principal Perſon at Court had given them expreſs advice, it was reſolv'd the Prince and the Admiral ſhould be taken, the former to be kept perpetual

Mezeray. 1567.

petual Priſoner, the other to loſe his head on a Scaffold; by the advice of *Dandelot*, the boldeſt of the three, they reſolv'd not only to defend themſelves, but to attack their Enemies with open force: And in order thereto, to remove the Cardinal from the Kings Perſon. This, Sir, was the deſign of the Enterprize of *Meaux*, and I have told you the Motives of it. I would adviſe thoſe who for this Enterprize would charge the Prince of *Conde* with Rebellion, that they would think well of it: The *Hero* who at this day bears the ſame name, whoſe veins are fill'd with that Illuſtrious Bloud, is an Evidence ſufficient to convince the World, we may retain our Love to our Countrey and Fidelity to our King, without loving thoſe who abuſe the Infancy of our Kings, by making them Arm againſt the Liberty and Lives of the Princes of their Bloud: If the Prince of *Conde* opened this ſecond War by the Enterprize of *Meaux*, it was becauſe he had not any other way to ſave his Liberty and his Life.

Par. The Enterprize of *Meaux* hath made you paſs from the Conſpiracy of *Amboiſe*, to the ſecond Civil War, without touching on the firſt, which is the principal, and you promis'd to juſtify.

Hug. Law. Well, Sir, I will, if you please, return to my Task. The first War was not a War of the *Hugonots* alone, but it was a War of *Antony* and *Lewis* of *Bourbon*: *The two Brothers*, Antony *and* Lewis *of* Bourbon, says *Mezeray*, *came not to the Assembly of* Melun; *for two months before*, Antony *retir'd into* Gascoign, *and his Brother went thither to him. Being then in more safety, they provided for their Affairs, and projected means to make themselves able to dislodge the* Guises. *The Design took wind, they were drawn to Court, and their Persons secur'd; a strong Guard was plac'd on the King of* Navarr, *and the Prince of* Conde *imprison'd; his Process was made, and by a terrible Arrest fram'd by the* Guises, *he was Condemn'd to lose his Head.* Was there ever so strange and unworthy a proceeding, that Strangers should Condemn to Death, the second Prince of the Bloud? And can it be thought strange, that a generous Prince should seek means to be reveng'd for so horrible an affront? He escap'd miraculously by the death of *Francis* the second, whose Authority the Princes of *Guise* had abus'd. The King of *Navarr* redeem'd himself by yielding the Regency to the Queen: The Constable *Montmorency* fell off from the Princes, because they would have call'd him to account

for

for the vaſt Guifts made him by *Henry* the ſecond. Then was form'd the famous Triumvirat between the Conſtable, the Marſhal *de St. Andre*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*; whoſe principal deſign was to efface the Name and Memory of the Family of *Bourbon*: But if the Conſtable was againſt the Princes, the Marſhal *Montmorency*, his Son, and Governour of *Paris*, was for them though a *Catholick*; by which it appears, that Religion was not the cauſe of thoſe Troubles: The Queen Mother ambitious to Reign abſolutely, and alone, was weary of the Tyranny of the Princes of *Guiſe*. And to ruine their Party, ſhe openly favour'd the Party of the Prince of *Conde*. The Queen Mother, ſays *Mezeray*, to reward the Services the Admiral had done her, granted or pretended to grant him aſſiſtance on ſeveral occaſions: She caus'd an Edict very favourable to the *Hugonots* to be publiſh'd in 1562. She proceeded yet further, and cauſed the Prince of *Conde* to Arm. In this very Page, Sir, our Hiſtorian reports, that the Duke of *Guiſe* being come to *Paris* with Twelve Hundred Horſe, entred the Town at the Gate of St. *Denis*, through which the Kings make their ſolemn Entry: The Queen perceiving his deſign to take the Government from her, writ to the Prince

of

of *Conde*, then retired to his House, recommending very affectionately to him, her Son, the Kingdom, and her self. If you look upon the following Page, you will see she sent for the Prince, who having got all his Friends together, took his Journey to go to the Queen, and pass'd the *Seine* at St. *Clou*. This, Sir, was the first taking up Arms, and the beginning of the first War; which was kindled by the Divisions of the great ones, and the unhappy policy of *Catherin de Medicis*. The Prince of *Conde* sent to the Princes of *Germany* the Original Letters of the Queen Mother, wherein she pray'd him to deliver her and the King out of Captivity: The Regent who put Arms into the Prince of *Conde*'s hands, reap'd not the benefit she expected from them, but was retained in slavery with the young King, by the Tyranny of the *Guises*, and carried to *Paris* against her will. Can you wonder, that a Prince of the Bloud, of great Courage, and in Arms at the Request of the Queen, should pursue his point, and endeavour to be reveng'd of the *Guises* who had almost brought his Head to the Scaffold? Can you think it strange? The *Protestants* immediately made themselves of the Party of a Prince of the Bloud, who had so justly taken up Arms to defend himself from

from the horrible Violences and Outrages of his Enemies; for then was the time, Sir, when the Maſſacres of *Vaſſy*, *Sens*, *Auxeure*, *Cahoy*, *Tours*, and a hundred other places were perpetrated: Then it was, that the Parliament of *Paris* paſs'd an Arreſt, whereby they gave order the *Hugonots* ſhould be kill'd whereever they were found. It was not *Henry* the ſecond commanded theſe Cruelties, but the Tyrants, who abuſed the Authority of an Infant King: Chriſtian Morality doth not Condemn a lawful defence againſt thoſe who unjuſtly attack us.

Par. Your Party kept not within the bounds of meer defence: They made violent Attacks, they proceeded to Extremities in their fury, beat down and profan'd Churches, broke down Images, kill'd and tormented Prieſts. You are not ignorant what horrible Cruelties were exercis'd by your Baron of *Adrets*.

Hug. Law. I pray, remember, Sir, I am not obliged to juſtify any more then the firſt taking up of Arms. I will not juſtify any thing was afterwards done; when men have once taken Arms in hand, they become deaf to Piety and Reaſon. The Prince of *Conde* did all he could to hinder theſe Diſorders: There is not one among us but Condems the Conduct of that time full of

Exorbi-

Exorbitance and Fury. But I will undertake, Sir, to justify the Outrages committed by our *Hugonots* on your Churches, Images, and Priests, when you shall have justified the Barbarous Inhumanities of your *Catholicks* against our *Hugonots*. Can you approve of that action of the Provincial, who finding at *Briguoles* a Sister of his that refused to go to Mass, caused her to be Ravish'd by the *Cordelier* who carried the Cross, and by all those who would take that Brutal Pleasure; and afterwards caused her to be Burnt with flaming Lard, which he procured to be dropt upon her? Can you approve of what was done at *Tours*, where three hundred Persons were flaid, and then beaten to death; young Women stript naked, Ravish'd in the Face of the Sun, then kill'd; Men cut up alive under pretence of finding Money swallow'd into their Bellies? Can you approve of what was done at *Orange*? Where some were kill'd with many gentle blows of Ponyards, that they might be the longer a dying; others were Impall'd; some Burnt; others Saw'd; Women were hang'd at the Windows, and the Infants out of their Bosoms dash'd against the walls; the old Men being drawn up in rank, to see this horrible Spectacle before they were Massacred. This is not the thousandth part

of

of Actions I could relate like these. The Answer of the Baron of *Adrets* to those of our Party, who reproached him for his Cruelty, was; *'Tis not Cruelty to be Cruel to them who have first been cruel to us; the first is called Cruelty, the second, Justice:* And to clear himself of the Imputation, he reckon'd up many thousands who had been kill'd in cold bloud, and put to Tortures never heard of before: When you have justify'd all this, I will undertake the justification of our Breakers of Images and Profaners of Churches. I have something more to say to you. Be so kind to justify the Conduct of the *Spaniards*, who are so *Catholick* and so devoted to the Holy See; make us a little Apology for what they did at *Rome*, when taken by *Charles de Bourbon*, under the Command of *Charles* the fifth. Let's look into *Fa. Maimbourgs* History of *Lutheranism*, which I see on your Table: He will tell you, Sir, these good *Catholicks* were Cruel and Prophane beyond Example in History. 'Tis impossible, says he, to express all the Outrages committed in that lamentable Pillage: It infinitly exceeds in all sort of Crimes, what the *Goths* and *Vandals* heretofore did when they sack'd *Rome*; nothing was spar'd but Deformity and Poverty: All things else became the prey of a Con-

Conqueror, the moſt brutiſh that ever was. If you pleaſe to read on, you will find that the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, by the relation of their own Hiſtorians, were more cruel and covetous then the *German Lutherans*. To conclude, if you will undertake to defend all that hath been done by your *Catholicks* in Wars for Religion, I will intreat you to juſtify the horrible Enormities committed in the Eaſt by thoſe *Croiſado's* who left their Countries, their Eſtates and their Children, to go and adore the Sepulchre of Jeſus Chriſt, and recover the Holy Land out of the hands of Infidels. I muſt intreat you to hear the reading of a Paſſage out of the *Byzantine* Hiſtory, which I tranſlated laſt night, foreſeeing I ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of it in my defence on this Article to day. Into what Method ſhall I digeſt the horrible Crimes committed by Execrable Men? Shall I begin with their Outrages on the venerable Images they trod under foot; or thoſe committed on the Reliques of Holy Martyrs, which they threw into the naſtyeſt places? Or ſhall I ſpeak of that which is as horrible at this day to hear, as thoſe were to ſee at the time they were acted? The Divine Body and Bloud of our Saviour were ſplit on the

Nicetas Chroniates in the Life of *Alexius Ducas.*

the ground and thrown in the dirt; thoſe who could ſeize the rich Caſes the ſacred Veſſels were put in, ſecur'd the Veſſels in their Pockets, and made uſe of the Caſes for Cups and Trenchers. True fore-runners of *Antichriſt*, acting before hand what he ſhould commit, *&c.* In pillaging the Churches, the Holy Veſſels were their prey; and the Mules and Beaſts of burden were brought to the Church doors; where, the Pavement being ſlippery, they often fell and bruiſed themſelves to death, ſo that the holy places were defil'd with the Bloud and Dung of thoſe Beaſts: Amidſt all theſe Diſorders, to the greater affront of *Jeſus Chriſt*, there ſate on the ſeat of the *Patriarch*, a Woman laden with Sins, a Miniſter of Furies, a Servant of Devils, and Miſtreſs of Sorceries, Inchantments and Poyſonings, ſinging Impure Songs, and dancing Laſcivious Dances: Hear the Authors Reflection: *'Tis evident, theſe People abuſe us, in ſaying they are going to Conquer the Holy Sepulchre of Chriſt, when they diſcharge all their fury againſt Chriſt himſelf, and with the Croſs they carry on their Shoulders, violate and profane the Croſs of Chriſt, for a little Gold and Silver:* Now, Sir, if you pleaſe, you will yield me up theſe Saints and Devout *Croiſado*'s as not to be juſtify'd in the Actions I

menti-

mentioned, and I will be excus'd from justifying those actions of the *Hugonots*, and confess the Outrages they were guilty of, were effects of the fury of War, and not the fruits of a true Zeal of Religion.

Par. You know well enough, Sir, we do not approve of all our *Catholicks* may have done against you in these Civil Wars: Our wisest Authors look upon the Massacre of St. *Bartholomew*, and others like it, as actions to be condemn'd, and the shame of *France* to all Posterity.

Hug. Law. To think otherwise and to be wise, Sir, are hardly consistent. For the Providence of God declar'd it self so signally against the Authors and Executioners of those abominable Counsels, we cannot but see it: *Mezeray* observes in his History, That the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, were Massacred at *Blois*, in the same Hall were the first Councel was held to deliberate of the Massacre of St. *Bartholomew*; the principal Executioners whereof, were the *Guises*: The same Author tells us, Another Councel had been held for the same purpose at St. *Clou*, in the house of *Gondy*, where the Duke of *Anjou*, who afterwards was *Henry* the third, presided. And that afterwards, that unfortunate Prince was assassi-

anno 1572.

nated in the ſame Chamber, in the ſame place, and on the ſame day, by *Clement* the Monk; the whole World knows the Tragical Death of *Charles* the 9*th*. whoſe blood guſh'd out through all the Pores and Paſſages of his Body: If you would know what that ſignifi'd, read thoſe five Lines *Mezeray* hath plac'd over the Picture of that Prince at the beginning of his Life.

Unhappy Councellors of Murders and Maſſacres,
Tormented ever with Stings of ſharp Remorſe!
Behold the dire Effects of your Advice,
A Young and Vigorous King yields his laſt Breath,
Swimming in ſtreams of his own bloud to Death.

The Characters of Divine Vengeance are equally viſible in the death of *Henry* the third: He dy'd in his one and fortieth year, being the flower of his Age, and in the midſt of a Reign the moſt promiſing and hopeful for Glory and Renown, *France* ever ſaw: He dy'd by the ſtroak of a Lance

in the Eye, at a Turnament, that is, a Sport: He who had often made it his Divertiſement to feed his Eyes with the horrible Spectacle of the Torment of *Hugonots*, he caus'd to be burnt; he who had promis'd with horrible Oaths to ſee *Ann de Bourg* burnt, as ſoon as his Daughter's Wedding and his Siſter's ſhould be over. Events like theſe are very proper to prove, that there is a God in Heaven who ſees the Actions of men, and renders to every one according to his Works.

Par. Theſe Reflections ſerve only to ſtain the Memory of the Dead: Let their Graves be their Sanctuary to ſecure them from our Cenſure. Leave intermedling with the Judgments of God, and ſum up the ſubſtance of what you have to ſay in juſtification of your Wars for Religion.

Hug. Law. The ſum of all, is this, Sir, That theſe Wars were not originally Wars of Religion, but Wars of State: Wars, to which the two Factions of *Montmorency* and *Guiſe* had given birth; Wars, wherein the *Roman Catholicks* were of contrary Parties as well as the *Hugonots*: For you ſee (in the purſuit as in the beginning of the War) the chief Roman Catholick Families of the Kingdom, engag'd in the Party of the Princes of the Bloud, and put into the

Liſt

Liſt of thoſe whoſe Throats were to be cut: The Marſhals *Montmorency* and *Coſſe*, and *Biron* Grand Maſter of the Artillery, were no *Hugonots*: Yet *Mezeray* tells you, they were in the Liſt of thoſe who were to be Maſſacred at *Bartholomew-Tide*: That the Marſhal *Montmorency*'s being at *Chantilly* abſent from Court, ſav'd the Life of his three Brothers: That *Coſſe* was ſav'd by the Interceſions of *Madame Chateau Neuf Monſieur Miſtreſs*; and that *Biron* Grand Maſter of the Artillery, ſav'd himſelf, by pointing ſome *Culverins* towards, *&c.* It was not the Zeal of Religion only animated theſe Furies, but Avarice, and Ambition, and a deſire to Reign without a Rival: Hence it came, that a great number of Roman Catholicks were Butchered with the *Hugonots*. Read *Mezeray*'s words: *This Deluge of bloud, ſwept away abundance of Catholicks, who were diſpatch'd by order of the Soveraign Powers, or the inſtigation of private Perſons.* To have Money, or a good Office, or a revengeful Enemy, or an Heir longing to be in poſſeſſion, was to be a *Hugonot*: The Duke of *Guiſe*, as great a Catholick as he was, ſav'd, during the Maſſacre, above a hundred *Hugonots* in his Palace, whom he thought he could gain to his Service. Had all the *Hugonots*

been willing to have plac'd him on the Throne, as he thought thoſe hundred were, he would have ſav'd a Million of them, and would have been their great friend and Protector. So true is it, that the Ambition of the great ones, was the cauſe of theſe Wars on the one ſide and the other: Hath not the Duke of *Alanſon* Brother of *Charles* the ninth and *Henry* the third, been ſeen at the head of Thirty Thouſand of theſe Male-Contents? Yet he was no *Hugonot*, nor ever favour'd them of the Religion: Were not Marſhal *Danville* and ſeveral other firm and profeſt Roman Catholicks engag'd for the ſame Party? By which it appears, all thoſe Wars were the Wars of the Diſcontented in general, whether *Catholicks* or *Hugonots*. To Conclude, Sir, for juſtifying our *Hugonots* in theſe Wars, I can prove they had not any deſign but to preſerve themſelves, the State, and the Illuſtrious Princes of the *Family* of *Bourbon* now Regnant: On the contrary, the oppoſite Party was a *Spaniſh* Faction, who covered their Deſigns with the Specious Vail of Religion, but were Enemies to the State, and would have put the Crown upon the Heads of Strangers.

Par.

Par. As to the laſt Article, I pray Sir ingage not in the proof of it. Repetitions are troubleſom to the Speaker, and no leſs tedious and unpleaſant to the hearer. This Gentleman hath acquainted us with what you have to ſay on that Subject: for he hath endeavor'd to prove, the faction of the *Guiſes* would have taken away from the Branch of *Bourbon*, their Lives and the Crown, to bring *France* under the Dominion of a Stranger. 'Tis poſſible there might be ſome ſuch deſign, but the faults of others do not juſtify us: If the faction of the *Guiſes* had Criminal deſigns, are you therefore more innocent?

Hug. Law. Sir, that which hath been ſaid by us on this Subject, is not the hundredth part of what may be ſaid to prove, the faction of the houſe of *Guiſe*, which call'd it ſelf the Holy Union, and went under the name of the *League* from the year 1576. to the year 1600. was altogether *Spaniſh*, and an Enemy to the State; and that our Party which was wholly oppoſite to the other, was altogether *French*. But I will comply with your deſires, and ſay no more of it, provided you will in requital anſwer a queſtion I am going to ask you. What reaſon you Gentlemen of the Roman Catholick Religion have to Condemn the *Proteſtants* for

their pretended Rebellions againſt their Princes, on the account of Religion?

Par. 'Tis on this Ground: That Subjects owe abſolute obedience to their Soveraign's in all things: That the Soveraign is Maſter of the Religion of his Countrey: And that Subjects have no right to demand toleration of a Religion different from that of the State.

Hug. Law. You have anſwered juſt as I expected: And according to theſe Maxims you argue very right: For if a Prince is abſolute Maſter of the Religion of his People, as of other their Concerns; if Subjects are obliged to follow always the Religion of their Soveraign, doubtleſs there is reaſon to charge them with Rebellion, who with Arms in their hands, deſire to be tolerated in the Exerciſe of a Religion different from that of the State. But, Sir, have you thought well of the Maxim you propos'd? Do you remember 'tis the Maxim of *Hobbs* in his *Politicks*? You know how famous *Spinoſa* was for Impiety: He was for allowing every one Liberty to think and ſpeak what he pleas'd concerning Religion, yet attributes to the Soveraign an abſolute Authority over the Religion of the State: You know theſe two men are an Object of Execration to all Divines, and that they are

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generally look'd upon as great Enemies of Religion: And amongſt all their Maxims, this in particular hath been look'd upon as one of the moſt Pernicious: Conſider a little, how far it may be carry'd: If the Prince be Maſter of Religion, you *Catholicks* muſt be Reformed in *England* and *Holland*, and ſo muſt the *Lutherans* in *Denmark* and *Swede*, and the Chriſtians of the Eaſt muſt turn *Mahometans* in *Perſia* and *Turkey*: If therefore this may peradventure be a falſe Maxim, as certainly it is, is it ſo great a Crime to be of a Religion different from that of the State? And if you are of a Religion different from that of your Prince, is it a Crime to obtain from him a toleration to exerciſe it in private or publick.

Par. Either you miſapprehend me, or I have not well expreſs'd my ſelf: I deſign not to aſſert, the Empire of Kings extends to the Conſcience, or that they are Maſters of the Religion of the heart: I know very well we are to obey God rather than Men: I confeſs it allowable, and frequently neceſſary to be of a Religion different from that of our Prince: In a word, 'tis no Crime to deſire permiſſion of the Prince to make publick profeſſion of a Religion different from his: My meaning was, that the Prince is Maſter of the External part of

Religion: That if he will not permit any Religion but his; when we cannot obey, we may die patiently without making other defence than our Sufferings: Becauſe true Religion ought not to make uſe of force and Arms for its eſtabliſhment: Princes are infinitely to blame when they violently oppoſe the Eſtabliſhment of the true Religion, but they are anſwerable only to God for it.

Hug. Law. In this ſence, I confeſs, your Maxim is pious, and bears the Character of the Primitive Chriſtian Morality: And now, Sir, I have you where I wiſh'd you: I ask you with confidence, what ground you *Roman Catholicks* have to charge us with the violation of this Maxim? If you think it good, why d' you not obſerve it? If you obſerve it not, why make you ſuch adô, why clamour you ſo much againſt others, who do not obſerve it? You may very well be allow'd, Gentlemen, to make the like Objection againſt the Reformed. You, who are of a Religion, whoſe Hiſtory, if written, would be a continual Series of Rebellion againſt Soveraigns, of Attempts againſt their Authority, Conſpiracies againſt their Lives, and Aſſaſſinations committed upon their Perſons, for the ſake of Religion, and under pretence of maintaining

ing it. You know the Hiſtory of paſt Ages and the preſent, and cannot be ignorant that when a Prince meddles never ſo little with what you call the Eſtate, the Immunities and Priviledges of the Church, though theſe things concern not the grounds of Religion, he is call'd impious, an Heretick, and a favourer of Hereticks, and permiſſion is given to rebel againſt him. For an Abby; for the Revenues of a Biſhoprick taken into the hands of a Prince; for the Rights of Regale; for Nomination to ſome Benefices what a buſtle is made, what extravagant Inſolences are not committed? According to that pious Maxim upon which you ground your Charge againſt us, and ſo cruelly proſecute it; thoſe who labour for the maintenance of Religion, are to be meerly patient, and ought not to make uſe of any means that may diminiſh or indanger the Authority of the Prince. But will you caſt your eye upon the Conduct of the League, that *Holy Union*, which in 1576. appear'd under that name for the preſervation of the *Catholick* Faith? You will ſee how they obſerv'd this Maxim.

The firſt honour Monſieur *Mezeray* does them, is to call them a great Faction, and the firſt Atchievement he attributes to them, is, that they had ſup- *Mez. Abr.* 1576.

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preſt the Royal Authority. In a ſhort time, ſays he, it was evident, this Faction having taken root in almoſt all the Provinces, put forth Branches ſo high, it cover'd and almoſt ſtifl'd the Authority Royal: 'Twas this League engag'd the whole Kingdom into a Party, whereof the King of *Spain* was the Head, and made the *French* ſign a Treaty of Union againſt the Authority of their lawful Prince. 'Twas this League forc'd *Henry* the 3*d* to ſign at the States of *Blois* this *Holy Union*; So that from King, ſays *Mezeray*, he became the head of a Cabal, and inſtead of being the common Father, declar'd himſelf an Enemy of one part of his Subjects. 'Twas this League, which in derogation of the Royal Authority, went to ſtab the Favorites of *Henry* the 3*d* almoſt in his boſome. And that poor Prince diſarm'd of his authority, took pleaſure and comfort in erecting Statues, and ſetting up Monuments for thoſe they had robb'd him of by their barbarous aſſaſſinations: 'Twas this League endeavour'd by all means to render *Henry* the 3*d* odious, by inſolent Sermons, by Confeſſions, wherein the Monks inſpir'd their Penitents with an averſion againſt their Prince, and impos'd on them for Penance, a neceſſity to hate him.

1584. 'Twas this League, ſays *Mezeray*, which

which having heated the Zealous, ſtirred the Factious, and perſwaded the Princes, began to riſe, to Liſt Soldiers, to make Aſſemblies, to chooſe Chiefs, at whoſe Summons by Billet, though they own'd not themſelves Heads of the Party, thoſe who were Liſted were oblig'd to repair to ſeveral places of Rendezvouz. 'Twas this *Holy Union* treated the ſame year with the *Spaniard*, and made a League Offenſive and Defenſive to Exclude from the Crown its Lawful Heirs. 'Twas this League ſeiz'd againſt the Kings Authority all the Towns it could take in the Kingdom: And not content with that, would have had permiſſion from *Rome*, to attempt the King's Life, and for that end made *Fa. Matthew* the Jeſuit take ſo many Journeys, that he was commonly call'd the Courier of the League: Compare this deſign with the Enterprizes of *Amboiſe* and *Meaux*, and ſee which is the more Criminal. Our *Proteſtants* are accus'd for having endeavour'd to free our Kings from the ſlavery they were kept in by Princes Strangers, yet you are well pleas'd that the ſame Princes Strangers ſhould attempt their Lives: 'Twas this League brought the *Rheiters* into *France* in 1585. 'Twas this League unworthily chas'd away their King from his Capital Ci- 1588.

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ty at the Barricade of *Paris*, and obliged him to ſave himſelf by night in great diſorder, that he might eſcape being ſhut up in a Cloſter, ſhorn a Monk, perpetually Impriſon'd, and perhaps Murder'd. 'Twas this League call'd their Prince Tyrant, excommunicated him, blotted his Name out of the publick Prayers, and caus'd Arms to be taken up againſt him on all ſides, after the death of the Princes of *Guiſe*. In fine, 'twas this Holy League made for the preſervation of the Catholick Faith, that aſſaſſinated the King at St. *Clou*, by the hands of a *Jacobin* Monk. Shall I proceed to expoſe other horrible actions of this Holy League, and what they did to hinder *Henry* the 4*th* from enjoying the Crown that belong'd to him? 'Tis not neceſſary, the memory of it is freſh, and all the World knows it: When you have recollected what you have heard, I cannot tell whether you will think it prudent in a *Roman Catholick* to hit us ſo confidently in the teeth with that Maxim; that Religion ought not to be defended by Arms; and that under pretence of Religion, nothing ought to be done that may any way hurt the Royal Authority.

Par. Sir, give me leave to tell you, this Invective is unjuſt: You charge our Religion with the Crimes of particular men.

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Do you believe the actions of the League were agreeable to the Principles of the Catholick Religion?

Hug. Law. If I did you injuſtice in that point, I did but requite you in kind for the like injuſtice you had done us: For you would make our Religion anſwerable for all the diſorders happen'd forty years together in the Civil Wars of *France*, the laſt Age. Were it true, that Motives of Religion only had engag'd the Reformed in thoſe Wars, yet thoſe Diſorders ought not to be imputed to the Reformed Religion, whoſe Doctrine perſwades not, nor inclines men to Revolt. But I affirm it, Sir, I do your Religion no wrong, if I lay to its charge all the Diſorders and furious Enormities of the League. Becauſe the Pope the Head and Author of your Religion was the Author and Promoter of that League; becauſe there were publick Rejoyceings at *Rome*, and *Te Deum* ſung for the *Bartholomæan* Maſſacre: The Sieur *du Maurier*, Author of the Memoirs of *Holland* will inform you, that there is to be ſeen this day at *Rome* a piece of Picture, wherein is drawn the Maſſacre of the Admiral, with theſe words, *Pontifex probat Colinij necem*; the Pope approves of the killing of *Coligny*. This Maſſacre was committed before the

League

League was hatch'd, and openly own'd, though it was then form'd, and acted with a furious vigor: The assassinate of *Henry* the 3*d* was approv'd by the Court of *Rome*. Publick Elogies were made in praise of him who committed the Assassinate, and publick Invectives against him that was murdered; this Prince, as well as *Henry* the 4*th* his Successor, was Excommunicated by the Pope: Their Subjects were absolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance, and all the Powers of *Europe* rais'd against them. All this, Sir, may we justly impute to your Religion, because the Religion of *Rome*, and the *Italian* Divinity spread throughout *Europe*, authorize these Rebellions against Princes, when the great Article of your Religion is concern'd; which is, *Obedience to the Pope*. 'Tis the Pope assumes a power to deprive Kings of their Crowns, and to transfer their Estates to others; 'Tis the Pope authorizes the assassinates of Kings and sacred Persons, when these facts are perpetrated pursuant to their Bulls of Deposition; 'tis the Pope usurps the temporal Estate of the Emperour in *Italy*, and under pretence that the Emperours had lost their Right by Heresy, made himself Soveraign of the City of *Rome*. 'Tis the Pope stiles himself Superiour to Kings, and makes Crown'd heads stoop to

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kiſs his feet; 'tis the Pope trod on the necks of Emperors, applying to himſelf thoſe words, *The young Lion and the Adder ſhalt thou tread under thy feet*; 'tis the Pope hath drown'd *Germany* with bloud, arming the Father againſt the Son, and the Son againſt the Father, to force from the Emperours the right of Inveſtiture into the great Benefices. The times are much altered ſince the Popes call'd themſelves the Emperours moſt humble Servants, and ſaid they were but duſt and aſhes in their preſence: I ſee there the Works of *Gregory* the Great, and could let you ſee in them the Style of the Popes in thoſe days, when they writ to the Emperours; but I had rather let you ſee it in the Margin of Father *Maimbourgh*'s Hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*: You will allow me who am a *Hugonot*, the pleaſure (which is not ſmall) to take out of the Margin of a Jeſuits Book thoſe words of St. *Gregory*, which the Miniſters have ſo often quoted; *Ego verò hæc Dominis loquens, quid ſum niſi pulvis & vermis, ego indignus famulus veſter? I that take the Liberty to ſpeak thus to my Lords, what am I but duſt, and a Worm, your unworthy Servant?* You will do us a pleaſure to read the Text of *Fa. Maimbourgh*. This holy Biſhop forbore not to execute

Hiſt. Luth. lib. 11. Ann. 1530.

execute what had been commanded him, having remain'd satisfy'd with making a most humble Remonstrance to the Emperour his Master in a Letter extreamly submissive. This vexes you, Sir, as it pleases us; I confess our joy may be tax'd of some malice but 'tis a matter so rare and so singular to hear a profest Jesuit, and one under the fourth vow, speak thus of a Pope, you will pardon us for being pleas'd with it; but the days are long since gone, when they spoke that at *Rome*: The Popes have since those days assum'd and exercis'd a Power to Depose Emperours and Kings, to declare them Tyrants, to raise their Subjects against them, when they do any thing the Popes pretend to be contrary to Religion: This is a matter so publickly notorious, it hath been prov'd a hundred times. Now Sir, I will dare your *Roman Catholicks* to charge us with our pretended Rebellions, and having maintain'd our Religion by Arms; and give me leave to tell you, I wonder the prudence of your Churchman, and the interest of his Party, permitted him to renew the memory of our Wars for Religion; for he might have easily foreseen, we would not fail to expose to publick view so many horrible Conspiracies those of his Character and Religion every day plot and carry on

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in thoſe Countreys where the Supremacy of the Pope is not acknowledg'd: If we acted a part in the Civil Wars of *France*, they cannot reproach us with having deſign'd the murder of our Princes, and actually aſſaſſinated them. We have never been charg'd with having deſign'd and endeavored to blow up with powder a whole State in a moment, not only the head but all its principal Members: We are now under great Sufferings in *France*; but amidſt all our Sufferings, we glory that our very Enemies bear witneſs of our Fidelity and Innocence; but the Martyrs of your Churchman, thoſe poor *Catholicks*, he laments and bewails, that they are cruelly put to death in *England*, under pretence of a pretended Conſpiracy, are ſufficiently convicted to have been tampering with as horrible an Enterprize as any hath been deſign'd this Age.

Par. We have done with that, Sir, let's hear no more of it, I pray, whether the *Engliſh Catholicks* be guilty or not, let not us inquire further; this Gentleman hath ſaid as much on that Subject as you can; do not attack us, you will find work enough to defend your ſelves; you think you have ſaid enough, but you have not ſpoken a word of the laſt Wars you rais'd in the

Kingdom; the Wars of *Montauban*, of *Rochel*, &c.

Hug. Law. As to the Plot in *England*, you ſhall not ſcape ſo; you ſhall hear a great deal more of it, if you pleaſe; I know all this Gentleman ſaid to you of it, he told you what he knew, but not all that may be known of it; ſuch order is taken to hinder the tranſportation of authentick Copies of the Tryals of thoſe Criminals into Foreign parts, we ſcarce know any thing of them; ſo that you are not to admire this Gentleman ſeem'd not throughly inſtructed: But becauſe that formidable Pamphlet you took out of your pocket, charges us to have occaſion'd a Perſecution againſt the *Catholicks* in *England*, under pretence of a pretended Conſpiracy, you muſt allow us to juſtify our ſelves a little more fully, and to add to what we have ſaid, what is ſince come to our knowledge; but, If you pleaſe, I will firſt ſpeak a word or two to the laſt Wars of Religion in *France* about the beginning of this Age: I am for plain dealing, I will never call evil good, nor good evil; I am of their number who cannot approve of theſe Wars, nor make it their buſineſs to juſtify them. The places of ſafety which had been given us were the ſeeds of this War; the King was deſi-

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rous to have them put into his hands, the *Hugonots* were obſtinately bent to retain them: It was ill done, without doubt they ought to have reſtor'd them, and to have rely'd on the Providence of God and the King's Juſtice. Yet this we have to ſay for our ſelves.

Firſt, 'Tis not juſt to charge a whole body of men with that which was done but by a part: Perhaps three fourths of all the *Proteſtants* of *France* were for a Submiſſion: Theſe doubtleſs would have carry'd it both for Number and Prudence, but they were the weakeſt of the Party: The turbulent Spirits were Maſters of all their Forces and Arms.

Secondly, We ſay the Religion of great men keeps them not from being ambitious: They reign in Confuſions, and make themſelves formidable by raiſing Troubles, they abuſe the ſimplicity of the People, and make them pay for the Follies and Crimes of thoſe who abuſe them: This was one cauſe of the laſt Wars; we had great men of our perſwaſion, who being in the head of a great Party, made themſelves formidable at Court for the ſtrong places they were Maſters of. Theſe men foreſaw that by the change of Affairs deſign'd at Court, their Credit and their Penſions would be loſt;

they did all they could to bear up themſelves, and engag'd in their Quarrel the people, whoſe Zeal is always ſufficiently ignorant and ill enough guided. Methinks ſome charity ought to be had for people who have no ill intention, but only the misfortune to permit themſelves to be ſeduc'd, by miſtaking intereſts of Religion: It muſt be conſidered alſo that moſt of thoſe who took Arms were frightned into it: Our Enemies who deſir'd nothing more than to ſee us riſe, that they might take that occaſion to deſtroy us, caus'd Rumors to be ſpread, that there was a deſign to maſſacre all the *Hugonots*; that it was agreed by a ſecret Article in the Treaty of *Spain*, and of the Marriages lately made: The preſſing ſo earneſtly to have again into the King's hands the places of ſtrength given by his Father to the *Proteſtants*, heightned our ſuſpicion. The horrible Image of the Maſſacres and Torments of the laſt Age, was freſh in memory; many had been Spectators, and ſome had been Sufferers in thoſe horrible Tragedies. The fear of ſeeing like days again drove them out of their Wits, and hurried them into a deſign to prevent Calamities that appear'd otherwiſe inevitable: This is a truth to which the late King of glorious memory bears witneſs in his

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Declaration of the 10th of *Nov.* 1615. And that great Prince found in that Source of the War, a reaſon to excuſe it. When he ſays, *The poor people having too lightly believ'd there were deſignes againſt their Lives, had precipitated themſelves into this Enterprize, thinking themſelves forc'd into it for their juſt and lawful defence:* Beſides, if you conſider with what Spirit our *Proteſtants* were animated in the laſt Wars, you will find ſome cauſe to excuſe them; perhaps there was in their Conduct ſomewhat of the ſpirit of that Governour who writ to *Tiberius*, *The Empire is yours, my Government is mine.* That is, they were jealous of their Liberties and Priviledges to that degree, they would not have them infring'd in the leaſt; but you cannot with juſtice charge them to have been animated with a Spirit of Contempt, or hatred, or revolt againſt their Soveraign. All their deſign was to Cantonize themſelves to preſerve their Religion; this only excepted, they were always ready to ſacrifice all for the Grandeur of their King and the good of the State: This is acknowledg'd more than once by the *Roman Catholick* Hiſtorians. After all, theſe Troubles ended about threeſcore years ſince cannot be at this day a lawfull Cauſe for revoking the Edicts of Pacification; becauſe our

Kings have defac'd the memory of thoſe Troubles by ſo many Declarations, and have confirmed by their Royal words frequently and ſolemnly given us, the favours they had granted us. Good God! where is that integrity? what's become of that ſincerity and good faith men ought to practice? Will they never call to mind that there is in Heaven a God faithful to his promiſes, who threatens vengeance on thoſe who violate Treaties and Alliances?

Par. Gentlemen, I cannot endure you ſhould make ſuch a noiſe about pretended breaches of words. Is not a King always Maſter of his Arreſts and Declarations? Is any thing more ordinary than to ſee that revok'd at one time which hath been eſtabliſh'd at another? Is a Prince charg'd to have dealt falſly or deceitfully when he charges or revokes ſome Laws he had made?

Hug. Law. Let me intreat you, Sir, not to permit your ſelf to be miſled and impos'd upon by that ſorry argument ſo often brought againſt us: Conſider, I pray, there is a great deal of difference between Sumptuary Laws, or Regulations of Proceedings in Suits Criminal or Civil, and Treaties *bonâ fide* made with Subjects, and People who are or enter under the Dominion of a Prince.

Prince. A Soveraign may revoke Sumptuary Laws and alter the forms of Proceedings which have been heretofore, but are not now uſeful to the State, becauſe they are not Treaties; he made not theſe Laws irrevocable, he was not engag'd, he did not promiſe any he would not revoke them, but in the Edicts of Pacification, our Kings treated with Men in the preſence of God, they engag'd themſelves to allow them ſome Liberties and preſerve them: They promis'd this ſolemnly without reſerving a Power of Revocation. It cannot be deny'd, but the Councel of *France* is univerſally blam'd, for looking upon all Treaties made with thoſe who are, or enter under the King's Dominion as Toys to play with and deceive the ſimple, and falſe Dice to cheat thoſe who mean honeſtly and act fairly. For thoſe many years the United Provinces have had in their ſubjection *Bolduc* and *Maſtricht*, Cities wherein the *Roman Catholicks* have all manner of Liberty, and the Burgeſſes great Priviledges, they have not fail'd to obſerve to a tittle the Treaties and Capitulations agreed on. I heard read the other day the Record of what was tranſacted upon the voluntary ſurrender of *Sedan* to the King: There cannot be a thing fairer than the Priviledges the King grants

to the Town and the Religion then predominant there: Nothing more ſolemn than the manner of their mutual engagement, by an Oath of Fidelity on the Subjects part, and on the part of the Soveraign, by the Liberties he allows them; but the memory of all this is vaniſh'd. When we mention theſe Treaties at Court, all the anſwer we have is, *The King's mind is alter'd.* This Conduct (which is obſerv'd in matters of State as well as of Religion) does *France* a greater injury than can be imagin d; it renders the *French* Government intolerable, at a time when *France* would have it appear the moſt eaſy: The People of *Flanders* and the *Franche Comte* lately conquered, retain to this day an affection for *Spain*, and groan under a Yoke which is not at preſent very heavy; 'tis becauſe they know the Priviledges and Liberties they enjoy, ſhall not laſt long; there is more danger than you think of in this manner of proceeding; for the World never wants ſome Factious Spirits who mind not that other mens ſins cannot juſtify or excuſe them in theirs; they forget that the faults of Princes againſt their Subjects do not authorize Subjects to rebel againſt their Princes; they frequently ſay to one another, *We are not obliged to keep our words with him that breaks his*

his with us: Fregit fidem, frangatur eidem. You ſee you have carry'd us a great way from the place we were at; but you will think it fit, Sir, that we return thither again, and ſpeak now of the Conſpiracy in *England.*

Par. You are ſtrangely in love with that Subject. Let me lead you where I will, you are ſtill for returning thither. And what ſhall you get by it? All you can ſay is overthrown in one word: It is conſtantly deny'd there is one word of truth in all that ſtory.

Hug. Law. 'Tis for that very reaſon, Sir, we return ſo often to that Subject. Can you think it fit we ſhould patiently endure our ſelves to be charg'd to have invented by the moſt Diabolical malice that ever was conceiv'd, a Romance, a Fable (ſuch as you ſuppoſe the Hiſtory of this Conſpiracy to be) out of a form'd deſign and of ſet purpoſe to deſtroy the Honour, the Eſtates, and the Lives of Millions of innocent Perſons? What proof have we ever given, that we are capable of ſo horrible a Treaſon? I know very well, you will object the ſame to us, and ask what colour there is to believe, that you *Catholicks* could have conſpir'd to maſſacre Millions of Innocents: And that 'tis as probable the Proteſtants have

have invented this Plot to destroy the *Catholicks*, as that the *Catholicks* have entred into a Conspiracy to destroy the *Protestants*: But, Sir, the presumptions are far stronger, if not altogether for us: 'Tis not to be found in History, we ever plotted infernal Devices like this, to destroy our Countreymen, or charg'd them with such black Crimes to ruin them: On the contrary, the History and memory of Men yet living, inform us, 'tis ordinary with the misguided Zealots of your Religion to make Parties and enter into Conspiracies for exterminating by Poison, Fire, and Sword, those they call *Hereticks*. So that 'tis more just to charge your *Catholicks* with a Crime ordinary with them, than to charge us *Protestants* with a wicked action, which no Age can shew we ever were guilty of.

Par. You suppose that which we say is a Calumny; that 'tis ordinary with us to endeavour to get rid of Hereticks by Poison, Fire, and Sword.

Hug. Law. Alas, Sir, have you already forgot all I said t' you but now, and you never contradicted? I mean, all those Massacres and Torments you have put the *Protestants* to; if you speak of Conspiracies, take but the pains to read your own Authors, they will sufficiently inform you. 'Tis

'Tis the policy of your *Bigots* to deny confidently the cleareſt matters of fact, and things moſt notorious and generally acknowledg'd; the method they take is not altogether ill, for if they cannot deceive the World, they will impoſe upon ſome; but this hinders not the Catholick Hiſtorians (who value themſelves on their honour and ſincerity) to give us relations of things as they really were. To this day your *Engliſh Catholicks* deny the *Powder-Plot* in 1605. and maintain it was an invention of *Cecils*: Notwithſtanding all this, *Mezeray* hath ingeniouſly given us the Hiſtory of that Plot, without regarding in the leaſt the impudence of the Conſpirators, who ſaid (as at this day) 'twas a Crime falſly charg'd upon them to take an occaſion to deſtroy them: If you will not believe me, here is *Mezeray*, read him; *The greateſt part of theſe laſt* (ſays he) *retir'd to* Calais, *where the King had commanded the Governour to allow them refuge; thoſe who govern'd his Conſcience having preſently perſwaded him, 'twas a pure Perſecution rais'd by the Miniſters againſt the Catholick Religion.* Jan. 1606. Tis their cuſtom, you ſee, to conſpire, and ſtoutly to deny the Conſpiracy diſcover'd; but the evident proofs, every day produces, make out the truth of this

this last Plot, and the falseness of their Assertions who deny it.

Hug. Gent. Sir, before we enter on this business, I pray I may be allow'd to make my Confession: I confess that the last year when I discours'd this Gentleman about our affairs, I was not throughly inform'd of the State of those in *England*: For instance, I said, *Oates* and *Bedlow* were not turn'd *Protestants*; I have since learnt the contrary, and that they turn'd *Protestants* assoon as they had given in their Depositions; being convinc'd by our Divines, that Religion which authorized such designs, could not be the true. But I pretend not that this doth in the least invalidate their Testimony, they were the honester men for turning *Protestants*; but let them have been of what Religion they will, if they believe there is a God and a Hell, 'tis not imaginable they could be so desperately wicked to damn themselves in a frolick, by inventing so long and horrible a story against millions of Innocent people: And as I was ill inform'd concerning the Religion of *Oates* and *Bedlow*, I was no better inform'd, as to the number of Witnesses who made Oath in that business. Of all the Tryals of the Conspirators having read only two or three, I knew none of the Witnesses but those two against whom

whom the Jesuits of St. *Omers* publish'd so many Libels. I said not a word to you of the Depositions of *Prance*, *Dugdale*, *Jennison*, *Dangerfield*, and several others; and the truth is, they endeavour to perswade us on this side the Sea, that all this great affair hangs only on the Testimony of two pittiful Rascals; but by the Tryals of the other Conspirators, we have seen the Depositions of *Dugdale*, who said he had seen a Letter of *Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, wherein he advis'd one of the Conspirators, to make choice of bold and desperate men to execute the design, and that it matter'd not whether they were Gentlemen or not: This *Dugdale* hath sworn he was engag'd into the Plot by *Gavan*, and several others; that he knew of several Meetings at *Boscobel*, at *Tixal*, and other places, where my Lord *Stafford*, my Lord *Peters*, *Levison*, and many others were present to find out a means to destroy the King and set up Popery; that afterwards *Harcourt* the Jesuit, made choice of him to be one of the Assassins; and that *Gavan* another Jesuit, had often endeavor'd to perswade him it was not only lawful but meritorious to kill any one for the advancement of Religion; that he fetch'd proofs out of Scripture, and instanc'd *Garnet* for an Example,

ample, whose Reliques had wrought Miracles; and that he assur'd him he should be Canoniz'd for this action. If this be compar'd with the Tryals of *Barriere*, *John Guignard*, *John Chattell*, *and Ravillac*, and with the History of *Garnet* the *English* Jesuit, whom they have made a Martyr; and you reflect upon the Chamber of Meditations into which the Jesuits put them, they would prepare for such extraordinary actions; it will appear this Evidence hath not the ayr of fiction, and that nothing is more agreeable to the ordinary Conduct and Principles of the Jesuits. The same man swears, *Harcourt* the Jesuit was the first gave him the news of Sir *Edmundbury-Godfrey*'s death, in these words, *This night Sir* Edmundbury-Godfrey *hath been dispatch'd.* In *Langhorn*'s Tryal he says that *Ewers* the Jesuite had differ'd with him about the Murder of *Godfrey*: *Dugdale* having told the Jesuit, he would be hang'd if this spoil'd not the whole business, the Jesuit answer'd, that *Godfrey* was a great Persecutor of Night-walkers and lewd people, and it would be easily believ'd one of them had murder'd him in revenge. In the same Tryal he deposes, that in the Conferences the Jesuits of the Plot had with him, he learnt they were to have an Army in readi-

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neſs for a Maſſacre when they had aſſaſſinated the King; that once they were in a mind to begin with the Maſſacre, but afterwards alter'd the project: In *Wakeman's* Tryal the ſame Witneſs depoſes further, that my Lord *Stafford* had promis'd to pay him before-hand five hundred Pounds Sterling, to kill the King with Piſtol, Ponyard, or otherwiſe; that *Ewers* the Jeſuit when he ſhewd him *Harcourt's* Letter, which brought the news of *Godfrey's* Death, ſaid, *That* Godfrey *was grown a little too inquiſitive, and that they had done well in killing him. Prance* another Witneſs depoſes, *That* Harcourt *the* Jeſuit *paying him for an Image of the Virgin, told him there was a Plot againſt the King's Life; that* Fenwick, Ireland, *and* Grove *had ſaid in his preſence, there ſhould be in readineſs an Army of fifty thouſand men to eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion; and that my Lords,* Powis, Bellaſis, *and* Arundel *were to command it.* That when *Prance* complain'd the poor Tradeſmen would be ruin'd, and have nothing to do in a time of War; it was anſwer'd, *He need not trouble himſelf for that, he ſhould have imployment enough, to make Images for the Churches.* The ſame Witneſs in the Tryals of *Green, Berry,* and *Hill,* gives in his Depoſition the whole Story of the Murder of *Godfrey*: He ſays, *That to agree the manner of that Mur-*

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der, they had several Meetings at an Ale-house at the sign of the Plow; *that they la-bour'd much to perswade him it was no Crime to kill a turbulent and over-busy man; that the project being agreed they had dogg'd* Godfrey *several times; that at last about nine a Clock at night, the Conspirators having obser-ved* Godfrey *returning from St.* Clements, Lawrence Hill *went to the Gate toward the Street, and meeting Sir* Edmund, *intreated him to come and part two men who were a fighting by the Water-side; that* Godfrey *having follow'd* Hill, *when they had him at the end of the Pales,* Hill *flung a cord about his neck and strangled him; that* Green *finding he was not quite dead, wrung his neck about; that having kept the Corps some days, and car-ried it from place to place, at last they laid it a cross a Horse-back, carried it into the fields, and threw it into a Ditch, having first run his Sword th ough his body. Robert Jennison* another Witness in *Wakeman's* Tryal depo-ses, he had heard *Ireland* one of the Con-spirators say, *that the* Roman Catholick Re-ligion *was to be shortly set up in* England; *that there was but one person could hinder it, and that they could easily poison the King; that the same* Ireland *being told by the Depo-nent, that the King went a Hunting and a Fishing with a very thin Guard, said he should*

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be very glad they were rid of the King: In *Stafford*'s Tryal, the ſame *Jenniſon* depoſes, that in the Meetings of the Prieſts and Jeſuits he had been at, he heard them ſay, *It was neceſſary for the Good of the* Catholick Religion, *to alter the Government, and to reform it after the model of* France; *that* Ireland *a Prieſt had ſolicited him to come along with him to help him to diſpatch the King*; *that the ſame Prieſt had ask'd him, if he knew any brave and reſolute* Iriſh-men *fit to give that great blow.* That being in *Harcourt*'s Chamber with many other Jeſuits, he had heard them ſay, that *if* C. R. *would not be* R. C. *he ſhould not be long* C. R. the meaning whereof was, that *if* Charles Rex *would not be a* Roman Catholick, *he ſhould not long be* Charles Rex; *that they made him take the Sacrament and an Oath of Secrecy, and than diſcovered to him the whole Plot.* In the ſame Tryal *Smith* declares, that having been born a Proteſtant, Abbot *Montague* and Father *Gaſcoyne* had labour'd at *Paris* to make him a *Roman Catholick*; telling him, that *in a ſhort time the* Catholick Religion *ſhould be the prædominant Religion in* England; that having deſign'd to go to *Rome*, and paſſing through *Provence* in his way to *Italy*, they had oblig'd him to many Conferences with Cardinal *Grimaldi*, who

at last perſwaded him to turn *Catholick*; and that he was made Prieſt: That Cardinal *Grimaldi* told him, *he had Correſpondence with many great* Engliſh *Lords, that he was very well aſſur'd the* Roman Catholick *Religion ſhould be prevalent in* England; *but that there was one man they muſt be rid of, and that was the King; that in truth he was a good Man, but however he muſt be made away, becauſe he was an Obſtacle to their Deſigns*: The ſame Witneſs ſays, that having left *Provence*, he went into the *Engliſh* Colledge at *Rome*, where he continued long; and that he heard the Jeſuits ſay in their Sermons and ordinary diſcourſe, That *the King of* England *was not truly King, becauſe he was an Heretick, and that whoever kill'd him ſhould do a very meritorious act.* And when he and five or ſix more were ready to leave that houſe, the Fathers earneſtly exhorted them to maintain that Maxim, *That People are not oblig'd to obey the King of* England. And that they ſhould take care to inſtruct accordingly in Confeſſion, all thoſe they ſhould find capable to enter into this great deſign. There is another Witneſs, *Dennis* by name, a *Roman Catholick*, and a *Jacobine* Monk; and ſuch at the time of his Depoſition, having neither quitted his Religion nor Order. This Monk depoſes,

ſes, that being in *Spain* at *Madrid*, in the Chamber of *James Lenck* an *Iriſh-man*, Arch-Biſhop of *Tuam*; this Arch-Biſhop told him, That *Dr.* Oliver Plunket *was to be imploy'd very ſpeedily to procure Succours from* France, *to be ſent into* Ireland *for maintaining the* Catholick Religion *in* Ireland *and* England, *and that he the Arch-Biſhop would in a ſhort time go in perſon into that Countrey to advance ſo pious a work.* The ſame Witneſs depoſes, that the Earl of *Carlingford*'s Brother caus'd great Sums of Money to be levy'd in the Covents; and that they ſaid openly, *this money was deſign'd for the bringing over an Army into* Ireland, *when time ſhould ſerve.* *Edward Turbervil*, another Witneſs, ſwears expreſly, *That* Stafford *being lodg'd at* Paris *at the corner of* Beaufort-ſtreet, *the Deponent came to him, and ſtay'd with him ſeveral days: That* Stafford *having taken an Oath of Secrecy from him not to diſcover what he ſhould truſt him with, he told him at laſt, they were in ſearch of one to kill the King of* England, *who was an Heretick, and conſequently no King, but rather a Rebel againſt Almighty God, and that he ſolicited him to undertake this great Action.*

Here Sir, are a great many Witneſſes beſides *Oates* and *Bedlow*, who ſwear as home as they: Can any reaſonable man imagine, there can be found ſo many Infernal Spirits (as here are Witneſſes) capable to invent ſo horrible a Calumny to deſtroy a Religion and all that profeſs it? And if it were poſſible to ſuborn one Witneſs or two, have you ever ſeen a preſident of ſuch a Subornation that hath gain'd ſo great a number of Witneſſes? Beſides, what is there improbable in this Hiſtory of the Plot? Is it not the Spirit and Cuſtom of your Bigots and blind Zealots to uſe ſuch means as theſe to promote their Religion? Read the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and you will find ſhe was no ſooner delivered from one Conſpiracy, but another was fram'd againſt her. The words of *Stafford* who paſſes for a Martyr among you, are remarkable.

Stafford's Tryal, pag. 200. In his Speech to the *Lord High-Steward*, and the Peers, his Judges, he declares, *That he did believe, thoſe of the Roman Religion had (ſince the Reformation of the Church of* England) *entred into ſeveral moſt wicked and moſt dangerous Conſpiracies; particularly the Conſpiracy of* Babington, *and that of the Earl of* Weſtmorland, *or the* Northern *Rebellion raiſed by the* Papiſts *in* Queen Elizabeth's *time.*

time. He declares further, *That he believ'd, there was a wicked Conſpiracy in the Reign of King* James, *wherein ſome of the Conſpirators were* Roman-Catholicks, *and ſome* Proteſtants. *And that after this followed that execrable Plot, called* The Gunpowder-Treaſon: And when Sir, could they have made choice of a more favourable time wherein to revive and reduce into practiſe thoſe bloudy Maxims, than a time when they aſſur'd themſelves, and were fully perſwaded, they ſhould find a King of their Religion in the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs? 'Tis true the King of *England* hath been favourable to them in tolerating them; but they were not ſatisfy'd with this, and having loſt all hopes of prevailing with him to turn *Roman Catholick*, they look'd upon his Life as a great Obſtacle to their Deſigns, for it made them loſe time, and they had reaſon to fear the *Proteſtants* in the interim might diſcover the deſign; ſo that it was their intereſt ſpeedily to make away a King, who poſſeſs'd the place of him from whom they promis'd themſelves a full re-eſtabliſhment of the *Roman Catholick Religion* in *England.* Recollect the Evidence, add to it the Letters and Memoirs that were ſeiz'd, and the Murder of *Godfrey*, and I will juſtify it, a man muſt have the Forehead of a

Jeſuit to deny there was a Plot. The Memoirs and Letters are very numerous, you may read them in the printed Tryals; particularly you will find a great Collection of them printed with *Stafford*'s Tryal. But, pray Sir, remember *Coleman*'s Letter, I ſpoke to you of laſt year; that alone is enough to ſtop the mouths of thoſe who dare ſay this Plot is an invention of the *Proteſtants*. To which Calumny we will conſtantly oppoſe, as an impenetrable Buckler, the words of that Letter, acknowledg'd by *Coleman* to be his. *We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter ſubduing of a Peſtilent Hereſy which has domineer'd over great part of this Northern World a long time*: Coleman's *Tryal*, pag. 69. I ſaid not a word t' you of another Letter as plain as this, which you may ſee in *Ireland*'s and *Grove*'s Tryals, where you will find words to this effect. *Every one had notice not to make too much haſt to* London, *nor to be there long before the day appointed, nor to appear much in the Town, before the Congregation was ended, for fear of giving cauſe to ſuſpect the Deſign.* This Letter doth not tell us what was the deſign of this famous Aſſembly, but it lets us ſee, they had ſome great deſign in hand, and the Plot being

diſ-

diſcover'd at the ſame time, 'tis not hard to gueſs what it was: It hath been prov'd before the Houſe of Commons, that upon the firſt diſcovery of the Plot, one of the Lords accus'd to have had a hand in it, writ to another of the ſame Lords then in *Staffordſhire*, that their deſigns were diſcover'd, and that he ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to conceal all ſuch their *Catholick* Friends as were concern'd in that affair. This Letter was found by a Juſtice of the Peace in the houſe of that Lord to whom it was directed, upon the ſearch made for Arms in *Roman Catholick* houſes, and was produc'd to the Commons in Parliament with all the Witneſſes, to whom it was ſhew'd the moment it was found.

Hug. Law. You have reaſon to wiſh, Gentlemen, that my Friend here had not been any better inſtructed than formerly in theſe matters, but had ſtill continued under his miſtake; that *Oates* and *Bedlow* had not chang'd their Religion, but remain'd *Roman Catholicks* after the Plot diſcover'd; for the pains he hath taken to inform himſelf, have made him acquainted with many particulars which cannot pleaſe you, ſince they make it clearly appear there was a Plot.

Par. We might have eaſily known all this already, being taken all out of thoſe Tryals printed in ſeveral Languages; but ſince you make uſe of them, you will allow me to do ſo; and give me leave to ask you whether the clearing of *Wakeman*, the Queen of *England*'s Phyſitian, be not an evident proof that all your Witneſſes are falſe Witneſſes? For they are in effect no other. *Oates* and *Bedlow* charg'd *Wakeman* to have treated for fifteen thouſand pounds, for poyſoning the King: Here are two Witneſſes, enough to Condemn a Man. Here is in queſtion one of the principal Crimes laid to the charge of the pretended Conſpirators, their deſign to make away the King, yet this man is acquitted by his Judges. It neceſſarily follows, your two famous Witneſſes were taken for falſe Witneſſes; and if they were not to be credited againſt *Wakeman*, why ſhould they be credited againſt the reſt?

Hug. Law. Do not ſay, Sir, that the clearing of Sir *George Wakeman* is a proof of his innocence, or of the falſhood of the Evidence; ſay rather, that the Chief Juſtice who ſate at that Tryal, hath been ſince impeach'd before the Peers of *England* in Parliament; and had the Parliament continued ſitting, perhaps that Judge had

ſmarted

ſmarted for it: The King was not very well ſatisfy'd of *Wakeman*'s innocence after his Acquittal: For that *Poyſon Merchant* having had the confidence to appear at Court after his enlargement, the King caus'd him to be turn'd out with ſhame.

Par. There is one thing ſticks ſtill very hard with me as to this Plot; that of twelve or fifteen Perſons who have been executed for the pretended Conſpiracy, not one confeſt himſelf guilty in the leaſt. When Men are ready to appear before God, the Mask falls off it ſelf; the fear of Hell ſoftens the hardneſs of their hearts: You ſhall not ſee a Malefactor but diſcharges his Conſcience at his death; if ſome of them were hardned enough to deny to the death, yet ſure one or other of them would have confeſs'd ſomething; but there hath not been one of them who did not proteſt to the laſt he was innocent. Conſider after what manner dy'd *Stafford*, and *Plunket*, the Primate of *Ireland*, who were Perſons of Honour and Quality.

Hug. Law. It ſurprizes me, Sir, to hear you make their obſtinate Silence an Argument of their innocence; every day we ſee Criminals, who to ſave their Credit, and have the pleaſure of ſaying they dye innonocent, reſiſt the moſt violent Tortures;

Yet

Yet you cannot comprehend, how Men who have long fortify'd their Courage, and prepar'd for an Enterprize, the most dangerous that may be, have the power to keep till death, a Secret, on which depends not only their Honour, but the preservation of all the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*: Had they confess'd themselves Guilty, they must have named their Complices; and in so doing, they would have destroy'd an infinite number of People, and render'd their Religion abominable in the World, by making it appear, it inspires into its Votaries such horrible Sentiments, and gives Birth to such furious designs: These Considerations are of weight and strength sufficient to keep the weakest of Men from revealing a Secret of this importance. When the *Powder-Plot* was discover'd in 1605, not one of the Conspirators confest; and nothing had ever been prov'd upon them out of their own mouths, had not the Judges had the ingenuity to cause *Garnet* and *Hall* to be imprison'd in two Dungeons, where they could speak to one another; and in the Wall between the Dungeons, there was a place they plac'd two Witnesses in, who heard all the Prisoners said, and gave so exact an Account of their Discourse, that they confest all: But would you know the cause they keep

their

their Secrets ſo well? Tis the horrible Oath they impoſe on all thoſe who enter into ſuch Conſpiracies: Read *Mezeray*, where I have left him open. *The laſt of* January, *eight of the principal Conſpirators were executed at* London *for High-Treaſon; not one of them accus'd the Prieſts or the Monks, for they were oblig'd to Secrecy by terrible Oaths.* To ſatisfy you fully in this particular, I will let you ſee the form of the Oath adminiſtred to all thoſe who entred into this laſt Plot. There is a Copy of it.

The Oath for the Plot in England.

I Whoſe Name is underwritten, do in the preſence of Almighty God, and of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, the Bleſſed Arch-Angel Michael, the Bleſſed St. John the Baptiſt, the Holy Apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all other the Saints in Heaven, and of you my Ghoſtly Father, declare from the bottom of my heart, that I believe the Pope, the Vicar-General of Jeſus Chriſt, to be the ſole and only Head of the Church upon Earth, and that by vertue of the Keys, and the power of binding

binding and looseing given to his Holiness by our Lord Jesus Christ, he hath power to Depose all Heretick Kings and Princes, to put them out of their Office, or kill them. And therefore I will from the bottom of my heart defend this Doctrine and the Rights of his Holiness, against all sorts of Usurpers, especially against him who pretends to be King of England, because he hath falsified his Oath made to the Agents of his Holiness, by not keeping his promise to Establish the Holy Roman Catholick Religion in England. I Renounce and Disavow all manner of Promise and Submission to the said present King of England, and all obedience to his Officers and inferiour Magistrates; and I believe that the Protestant Doctrine is Heretical and Damnable, and that all those who do not forsake it shall be damned: I will assist with all my power the Agents of his Holiness here in England, to extirpate and root out the said Protestant Doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended King of England, and all those his Subjects, who will not adhere to the Holy See of Rome, and the Religion there profest. Moreover, I promise and declare, that I will keep Secret, and not divulge directly or indirectly, by word or by writing, or other Circumstance

cumstance whatsoever, what you my Spiritual Father, or any other engag'd in the advancement of this Holy and Pious Design, shall propose and give me in charge; and that I will diligently and constantly promote it; and that neither hope of Reward nor fear of Punishment shall make me discover any thing relating thereto; and that if I be discover'd, I will never confess any Circumstance of it. All these things I swear by the most Holy Trinity, and by the Blessed Body of God, which I intend to receive presently, and that I will accomplish and inviolably perform them all; and I call to Witness all the Angels and Saints of Heaven, that such is my true intention: In Witness whereof, I receive the most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Hug. Law. Well Sir, and what say you of this? This comes from good hands; from a great house allyed to that of *England*: But had it fallen from the Clouds, we might have known it by the Character; had it been a forg'd piece, it must needs have been made by a *Roman Catholick*, and one deeply vers'd in the Cabal of these blind Zealots; for there is not a *Protestant*, and but few *Roman Catholicks*, who understand the

the ſtyle and conduct of this Cabal with ſo much perfection, as he muſt have done, who ſhould invent this form of an Oath. And now, Sir, you may, if you can, draw from the ſilence of the Conſpirators an Argument againſt the truth of the Plot.

Par. Since you are ſo much for anſwering, I ſhould be very glad, Sir, to hear what you have to ſay to the buſineſs of my Lord *Howard*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*: This laſt will be ſhortly convicted of having ſuborn'd Witneſſes againſt the Queen of *England*, and the Duke of *York*, to make them Complices in the Plot. May not he who would have ſuborn'd Witneſſes againſt the Queen and firſt Prince of the Bloud, be rationally preſum'd to have ſuborn'd Witneſſes againſt five or ſix pitiful Prieſts?

Hug. Law. We hope, Sir, the innocence of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* will ſave him. Perhaps it will be objected, he may be more for a *Republican* Government, than may befit the Subject of a Monarchy; but we cannot believe him capable of the baſe actions he is charg'd with. If he miſcarry, he will not be the firſt innocent perſon hath periſh'd by the malice of falſe Witneſſes: Can any thing be clearer, than that this Charge againſt him is a Counter-battery raiſed

ſed by your *Catholicks*? Nothing can be more proper to make men ſuſpect, that all hath been ſaid of the Plot, is meerly fictitious, than to produce men to teſtify, Endeavours have been us'd to ſuborn them: For if Endeavours have been us'd to ſuborn them, why not to ſuborn others? I wonder only this act of the Tragedy began ſo late: 'Tis true, we may ſee ſomething of it in *Wakeman*'s Tryal and in *Dugdale*'s Depoſitions: For this Witneſs tells us, he had ſeen a Letter ſent from *Paris* to St. *Omers*, from St. *Omers* to *London*, from *London* to *Tixal*, wherein it was adviſ'd, *That the* Presbyterians *ſhould be accus'd of a Deſign againſt the King's Life, which would oblige thoſe of the Church of* England *to joyn with the* Catholicks *to deſtroy the* Presbyterians. Obſerve now the Event of this Counſel: The Earl of *Shaftsbury* is look'd upon as the head of the *Presbyterians*; the *Presbyterians* are the great Enemies of the Conſpirators, and labour with moſt Zeal the Diſcovery of the Plot. We muſt deſtroy their Credit, ſay you, and charge them with the blackeſt of Crimes; and who are the Witneſſes made uſe of againſt the Earl of *Shaftsbury*? They are all *Roman Catholicks*: Can you think it a hard matter in a buſineſs where the ſafety of a whole Party and of the

Roman

Roman Religion is at ſtake, to find five or ſix perſons who will Sacrifice themſelves to ſave the honour of their Religion, and the Life of their Patriarchs? And how do they Sacrifice themſelves? Their Ghoſtly Fathers perſwade them, that to bear falſe Witneſs againſt *Shaftsbury*, the great Enemy of the *Roman Church*, is ſo far from being an offence to God, that they do him very conſiderable Service in it. So that inſtead of one or two, I believe they may find a hundred falſe Witneſſes in this affair; and this is the cauſe honeſt men are ſo much in fear for the Life of that Lord. But let us ſuppoſe things to be as you would have them; let us put the Caſe that *Shaftsbury* is the moſt wicked of men; doth it follow, that becauſe out of hatred to the *Roman* Religion, and for Excluding the Duke of *York* from the Succeſſion, he would have ſuborn'd ſome Witneſſes againſt the Queen and the Duke; he muſt therefore have framed and invented this long train of Conſpiracies and that multitude of particular matters of Fact, Letters, Meetings, and Conſultations, that appear in the Hiſtory of the Plot? Doth it follow, that becauſe he would have ſuborn'd Witneſſes, he muſt therefore ſucceed in it? Or if he hath had the fortune to find one Wretch or two capable

pable to be Suborn'd, is it probable he could have found out ſo great a number? Hath he ſearch'd *England* and *Ireland* all over, to ſcum out for his purpoſe all the Raſcals capable to give and maintain a falſe Teſtimony? How many Witneſſes have been produc'd about the Plot in *Ireland?* Hath the Earl of *Shaftsbury* Suborn'd them too? Is this probable, Sir, or will any man believe it?

Par. This probably is all you have to ſay to us about the Plot in *England*; I think it high time to put an end to our Diſcourſe, it hath been ſomewhat long; you may well be weary of ſpeaking as we are of hearing.

Hug. Law. We ſhould have had much more to ſay to you, if we were allow'd to ſpeak, and could produce all the proofs the Cabal hath found the means to bury: Had we but ſeen *Plunket*'s Tryal, we could without doubt have added many things to what you have heard: And if it were in our power to diſcover the Myſteries of the *Iriſh* Plot, we ſhould certainly ſtop their Mouths, who ſay, the reaſon of our ill uſage in *France*, is that the King may revenge the Outrages, done to the *Roman Catholicks* in *England*.

Hug. Gen. Gentlemen, if you pleaſe, before we make an end, becauſe I am in the humour of making Retractations and Con-

 feſſions,

feſſions, I will confeſs t' you, that ſpeaking laſt year of the death of King *Charles* the *1ſt*, and how great a ſhare the Jeſuits had in his Death, I gave you but a very imperfect account. I have ſince ſearch'd into the bottom of that affair; and, if you pleaſe, will acquaint you what I have learnt. I muſt tell you then, that 'tis known when the late King of *England* was Beheaded, there was a *Roman* Prieſt a Confeſſour, who having ſeen the King's Head cut off, flouriſh'd his Sword, and with Demonſtrations of extraordinary joy, cryed out, *Now we are rid of our greateſt Enemy.* There is proof, that the News of the King's Death being come to *Roan*, and diſcours'd in a great Company of men very well inſtructed in the Myſteries of the Zealous Cabal; one of them ſpoke thus: *The King of* England *had promis'd us at his Marriage, that the* Catholick Religion *ſhould be re-eſtabliſh'd in* England, *and becauſe he put it off from time to time, we often call'd upon him to perform his promiſe*; we were ſo plain, as to tell him, That *if he did it not we ſhould be forc'd to make uſe of means to deſtroy him: We gave him fair warning, and becauſe he would not follow our advice, nor keep his Word*

Du Moulin's Anſwer to Philanax Anglicus. pag. 58.

Pag. 58, 59.

Word with us, we have kept ours with him. A Gentleman of honour, a *Proteſtant*, who was in the Company, gave me this Relation. The Author who produces this Proof, produces alſo a Letter from a Secretary of State, who was actually in the Service of the Crown, when the Accuſation was brought againſt the Jeſuits about the Death of the King; this Secretary, whoſe name was *Morrice*, in anſwer to a Letter from the Author of the Accuſation, ſays to this purpoſe. *I am not allow'd, nor does it become me to make Conjectures, or draw Conſequences from the Orders his Majeſty gave me concerning you, beyond what he hath preciſely expreſt. You know in what truſt and capacity I ſerv'd his Majeſty, and what it was my duty to ſay, and whereof to be ſilent: But this I may ſafely ſay, and will do it confidently, that many Arguments did create a violent ſuſpicion, very near convincing Evidences, that the Irreligion of the Papiſts was chiefly guilty of the Murder of that Excellent Prince, the Odium whereof they would now file to the account of the Proteſtant Religion.* Pag. 64. The ſame Author adds, That a Proteſtant, a little before the King's death, met upon the Road from *Roan* to *Diep*, a Company of Jeſuits, who taking him for a Catholick, told him they were going into the Army

of the *Independants* in *England*, and that they would make work enough there. An *Engliſh* Lady at *Paris*, being ſeduc'd by a Jeſuit, turn'd *Roman Catholick*; ſoon after came the news of the King of *England*'s Death: The Jeſuit viſiting the Lady, found her all in Tears for this lamentable Accident. *Madam*, ſays the Jeſuit ſmiling, *you have no reaſon to lament what hath happened, the* Catholicks *are delivered of the greateſt Enemy they had, and his Death will be much to the advantage of the* Catholick Religion. The Lady angry at this diſcourſe, ſent the Jeſuit packing down Stairs, and conceiv'd ſuch horrour againſt the *Roman Catholick Religion*, ſhe would never after endure to hear ſpeak of it. A very underſtanding Man viſiting the Monks at *Dunkirk*, that he might ſound them what they thought of the King's Death, ſaid, *That the Jeſuits had labour'd much to bring about that great work*: A Monk anſwer'd, *That the Jeſuits always aſſum'd to themſelves the credit of every great Work; but that their order had contributed to this as much if not more than they.* 'Tis certain there was an univerſal Joy in all the *Engliſh* Seminaries on this ſide the Sea, for the Death of the King: They thought themſelves ſo ſure of their Deſigns, that the *Benedictines* were taking care how

to

to prevent the Jeſuits from poſſeſſing themſelves of the Lands belonging to their order; and the Nuns quarrell'd among themſelves who ſhould be Lady Abbeſſes: To conclude, the ſame Author reports, That he offer'd to prove in due courſe of Law, his Charge againſt the Jeſuits for the Death of the King; but that he was unwilling to publiſh his Proofs before hand, leſt thoſe who were guilty of the Charge, might have opportunity to get them out of the way or deſtroy them. I do not underſtand *Engliſh*, but I got a Friend of mine who does, to Tranſlate me this Book, being, *an Anſwer to a Book, entituled*, Philanax Anglicus. I remember theſe Particulars in it, which, in my opinion, ſufficiently prove, that the Charge of the King's Death on the Roman Catholicks, is not altogether groundleſs; but I begin to be ſenſible we abuſe your patience: Therefore, Gentlemen, we will break off here, and take our Leaves. Pag. 61, 62.

Prov. I wiſh'd them gone a quarter of an hour ago: The Lawyer, as he took out of his Pocket the Oath he gave us to read, dropt a Paper I took up, and having half open'd it, I ſpy'd written a top, *To the King*: I folded it up again and he never perceiv'd me: I long extreamly to ſee what it is: Let's read it.

To the King.

SIR,

" YOur Majeſty may very well be ſur-
" priz'd to ſee at your feet an un-
" known Perſon, who having made his way
" through the Crowds about your Majeſty,
" is come to expoſe himſelf to the ſplendour
" of Rays ſo glorious as yours. The high
" State your Majeſty is in, deprives of
" courſe the greateſt part of your Subjects
" of the Liberty to preſent themſelves be-
" fore you; but the Sentiments endeavour'd
" to be inſpir'd into your Majeſty, to the
" diſadvantage of your Subjects of the *Pro-*
" *teſtant Religion*, keep them at greater
" diſtance, and abſolutely take from them
" the advantage of appearing before you,
" to preſent to your view the true pour-
" trait of their Miſeries; to prevent being
" dazl'd with the Luſtre of your Throne,
" they have put a vail between themſelves
" and Your Majeſty, and have drawn a
" Curtain, behind which they may make
" their Complaints, by a voice out of the
" Ground. If this voice have the good

" fortune

" fortune to reach Your Majeſties Ear, be
" Graciouſly pleas'd to give it Audience,
" and to look upon this private unknown
" Perſon as a poor Wretch, who in the name
" of Millions of other Wretches is come to
" Expoſe to Your Majeſties view their
" common Calamities, and to have an end
" put to their Miſeries by Your Majeſties
" Juſtice and Mercy: Their Miſeries are
" extream, had they been but ordinary,
" we ſhould have ſubmitted with ſilence;
" It will not be believ'd, that under the
" Reign of the greateſt of our Kings, of
" him who was born for the Glory and
" Happineſs of *France*, there is ſo great a
" number of miſerable Perſons within an
" inch of Deſpair; but 'tis Your Good-
" neſs, Sir, is the cauſe of our Calamities,
" by giving way to the malice of our Ene-
" mies, by permitting it ſelf to be ſurpriz'd
" by the Counſels of our Perſecutors.
" Theſe ill Counſellors, Sir, forgetting or
" not knowing the true Intereſts of Your
" Majeſtie, arm Your Majeſty againſt the
" faithfulleſt of Your Subjects; againſt
" People who by Birth, by Inclination, by
" Intereſt, and by their Religion, are obli-
" ged to adhere inſeparably to Your Maje-
" ſty: The bloud which was heretofore
" ſpilt with ſo much joy, to gain to *Henry*

" the 4th that Crown Your Majesty now
" wears with so much Glory, circulates in
" our veins, and burns with impatience to
" be shed in Your Service: But our Ene-
" mies, Sir, who are in truth the Enemies
" of the State, force us to cease to be Your
" Subjects, to seek other Soveraigns, to live
" in another Air, and to people the Estates
" of Your Neighbours, who perhaps will
" shortly be Your Enemies; they hurry us
" out of our Country, and labour to stifle
" in our hearts those Sentiments of Love
" and Respect for Your Majesty, which Na-
" ture had so deeply rooted there; they will
" pull down our Churches, they rob us of
" our Liberty to serve God, they take
" from us all means of Livelyhoood, they
" plunder our Goods, they force our Chil-
" dren from us, they consume our Houses,
" and in some Provinces abuse our Persons,
" they Imprison us, they put us to the Rack,
" they Torture us, they beat us to death,
" they Hang, they Burn us without course
" of Law: The Instruments that Execute
" these Outrages are Your Soldiers, who in
" the heart of Your Kingdom commit Enor-
" mities, humane Nature would abhor, if
" committed in an Enemies Country, and in
" the fury of War: They possess the Souls
" of Your *Protestant Subjects* with a Spirit

" of

" of terrour and fear, by ſhewing them Your
" Majeſties Arm always lifted up for their
" ruine: Thus they endeavour to make us
" hate him as a Tyrant, whom by duty
" and inclination we love as the beſt of our
" Kings. We know very well, Sir, that to
" ſurprize Your Majeſty they make uſe of
" an apparent Piety, and mind you of
" the Name, Your Majeſty bears, of *Moſt*
" *Chriſtian*, to inſpire into Your Majeſty
" thoſe Sentiments ſo diſaſtrous and perni-
" cious to us; but in the Name of God we
" Conjure Your Majeſty to conſider, that
" thoſe Councels of breach of promiſe and
" of violence, are abſolutely contrary to
" the Spirit of true Religion. Nothing can
" be more agreeable to Piety than Integri-
" ty in our actions and juſt performance of
" our promiſes. We liv'd in a profound
" Peace under the ſhadow of thoſe Edicts
" Your Majeſty hath ſo often and ſo ſolemn-
" ly confirm'd to us; theſe Councellors, Sir,
" engage you in a Conduct ſteer'd by that
" horrible Maxim, all true Chriſtians deteſt,
" *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*:
" They render Your Majeſties Juſtice and
" Truth to Your Promiſes ſuſpected to all
" Strangers, who cannot but doubt the
" ſtability of any Treaty to be had with
" you, ſeeing the Promiſes made to your

" Subjects

" Subjects violated in ſo cruel a manner:
" The Declarations obtained every day by
" ſurprize from Your Majeſty, ſtain the
" moſt Glorious Reign *France* ever ſaw;
" not only by the mortal Wounds they give
" to Your Majeſties Juſtice, and your truth
" to your Promiſes, but by open violations
" of the moſt ſacred Laws of God and
" Nature. All *Europe* looks with aſtoniſh-
" ment on the Permiſſion granted by the
" wiſeſt of Kings, to annul in his King-
" dom Paternal Authority, and to ſee Chil-
" dren arm'd to Revolt againſt their Pa-
" rents, in an Age they know not what Re-
" volt is: Your Majeſty is too clear-ſighted,
" not to diſcern that Crimes and ill means
" are not the paths by which Souls ought to
" be led into the true Religion; thoſe who
" lay Siege to Your Majeſty, and make you
" take Reſolutions ſo diſmal to Your Sub-
" jects of the *Proteſtant Religion*, carry all
" with a high hand, without any regard to
" their honour, or the glory of the greateſt
" of Kings; to induce them to that which
" they call Converſion, they invite men to
" turn Bankrouts, to rebel againſt their Su-
" periors, to falſify their words, to be Hi-
" pocrites and profane; for thoſe they draw
" in by hopes of not paying their Debts, or
" of Impunity for any Crime, and thoſe
" they

" they force to turn by Baſtonade, fear of
" Poverty, and other Violences exercis'd up-
" on them, cannot but become Hypocrites
" and profane, deteſting in their hearts
" thoſe ſacred things they are forc'd to re-
" verence in appearance. Your Majeſty is
" told, the Parents are ill Chriſtians, but
" their Children will be good *Catholicks*;
" but we conjure Your Majeſty to conſi-
" der, the falſe zeal of our Perſecutors makes
" as many *Criminals*, as it pretends to make
" *Catholicks*; and that by the Law of God,
" Children are puniſhable for the Crimes of
" their Parents; the unhappy Parents look
" upon them as Tyrants, who fetter their
" Conſciences; they are Rebels in their
" hearts, and will never let ſlip any oppor-
" tunity to be reveng'd for the Oppreſſion
" they are under; how can it be hop'd,
" God will bleſs the poſterity of thoſe baſe
" Wretches, who for fear of ſome Temporal
" Puniſhment, or hope of ſome inconſidera-
" ble advantage, Renounce a Religion they
" believe to be true, and harbour in their
" hearts Rebellion againſt their Soveraigns?
" Theſe Sentiments will be tranſmitted to
" their poſterity; for it is natural for Pa-
" rents to inſpire their thoughts into their
" Children. Thus Your Majeſty ſhall ſee

" conti-

" continued in Your Kingdom a Generation
" of Male-Contents, of Diſſimblers, of Pro-
" fane, Rebellious, and ill Chriſtians; ſuch
" will be the good *Catholicks* begot of thoſe
" Parents, who are at this day forc'd to
" change their Religion. Among this
" wretched Multitude there will doubtleſs
" be ſome, who totally forgetting their du-
" ty, will take deſperate Reſolutions, and
" chooſe rather to die in a violent manner,
" than to live reduc'd to a condition where-
" in they betray their Conſcience and ſuffer
" a thouſand Calamities; and it cannot but
" infinitely grieve Your Majeſties good Na-
" ture and Clemency, to ſee your ſelf forc'd
" to revive the Age of Maſſacres: Our zeal
" for Your Majeſties Service holds out hi-
" therto againſt the ſence of our preſent Suf-
" ferings, and the fear of future ills; Your
" Majeſty hath not in Your Armies by Sea
" or Land, an *Hugonot* Officer who is not
" ready to ſacrifice his Life in Your Service:
" There is not Your Kingdom a *Proteſtant*
" who doth not venerate, (I may ſay adore)
" Your Majeſty, as the brighteſt Image God
" hath given of himſelf to the World; we
" hope, they will always look upon the
" Thunderbolts that come from your hand,
" with that reſpect and fear they regard

" thoſe

" thoſe that fall from Heaven; but we hope
" alſo, Your Majeſty in imitation of that
" Divinity, whoſe Image you are, will pity
" ſo many miſerable Perſons who groan
" under their Sufferings, without murmur-
" ing againſt the hand that cauſes them.
" Eſpecially, when you conſider theſe
" Wretches have all *Europe* to witneſs their
" faithfulneſs to Your Service; and the
" World ſees them free from the leaſt ſtain
" of Rebellion: Your Majeſty will not per-
" mit us to be perſecuted any longer for no
" other reaſon, but becauſe, as 'tis ſuppos'd,
" we are not illuminated. Alas, Sir, 'tis a
" Grace that depends not upon our ſelves,
" 'tis not a thing within the power of Man,
" nor is it an effect of fear, puniſhments and
" tortures. We doubt not, but if Your Ma-
" jeſty would take the pains to caſt Your
" Eye, upon the Arreſts and Orders exhort-
" ed from Your Majeſty againſt us, and the
" Conſequences of them, they would ap-
" pear dreadful and horrible; Your Maje-
" ſty ſhould ſee Trade interrupted and
" ſpoil'd, Your Towns deſolate by the de-
" ſertion of the Inhabitants, and a great
" breach in Your State by the loſs of ſo ma-
" ny conſiderable Members of it ready to fly
" out of it; you ſhould ſee your Neigh-
" bours

" bours enrich'd and fortify'd by the ſpoils
" of Your Kingdom, *France* in many pla-
" ces, become a vaſt Deſart, and a conſide-
" rable number of unhappy Conſciences,
" groaning under a cruel Servitude they
" are reduc'd to; You ſhould ſee a People
" in deſpair, capable of the moſt violent
" Reſolutions againſt themſelves. We hope,
" Sir, that God the Protector of *Afflicted*
" *Innocents*, will lay open all theſe Conſi-
" derations to Your Majeſties Eyes, that
" you may act as the common Father of
" Your Subjects: We remember, Sir, that
" kind and excellent Expreſſion of Your
" Majeſty, not long ſince; *That You conſi-*
" *der'd us all as Your Children, and would*
" *have given Your Right Hand for our Con-*
" *verſion*: Here we ſee Your Majeſty in
" Your Natural ſtate, and admire the genu-
" ine goodneſs of Your temper, and are per-
" ſwaded 'tis not without violence you are
" obliged to arm Your ſelf againſt us, as if
" we were Your Enemies. When Children
" have attain'd the age of diſcretion, their
" Parents uſe only the ways of perſwaſion
" to reduce them to Duty; becauſe the
" heart is not won but by fair and gentle
" means, and our Spirits naturally abhor
" and reſiſt force. We hope therefore, Your

" Maje-

" Majeſty will again awaken Your Paternal
" Compaſſions towards thoſe Children
" whom you look upon as gone aſtray;
" and that you will leave it to Heaven and
" it's Grace, to reduce them into the right
" way, if out of it, and that You will not
" permit our Conſciences to be dragg'd in-
" to Paths which we are not perſwaded are
" right: 'Tis this hope alone, Sir, keeps us
" from falling into deſpair, this only ſup-
" ports us; this will ever make us moſt ear-
" neſt Petitioners to Heaven, for the pre-
" ſervation of Your Royal Perſon, for
" Your Glory, and the good Succeſs of all
" Your Deſigns.

Prov. What think you of it, Sir?

Par. I am not ſurpriz'd at it; theſe poor People are ſo reſtleſs in their miſery, 'tis no wonder they toſs and tumble themſelves every way; but they are very ſimple, if they think they can find a way to convey ſuch a Paper to His Majeſty, the Avenues are all block'd up. And ſhould it come to the Kings Hands, he is beſet round with thoſe ſhall take effectual order he ſhall not alter his Mind: I ſhould think it beſt to let them have it again, but that if you reſtore it, they will be

be vex'd we have ſeen it. 'Tis better pretend we know nothing of it, nor ſay a word of it to them; they will think they have loſt it elſewhere.

Prov. I will be advis'd by you. Farewel, Sir, 'tis high time to leave you to your Repoſe.

The

The *Printer* to the *Reader.*

The Copy of the following Letter being come to my hands, I thought it not improper to be communicated to the Publick, becauſe it concerns the preſent State of the Religion in *France*, the Subject of this Work.

SIR,

YOu deſire I would inform you, what you are to believe of the Reports ſpread in the Province you are in, of the great Mitigations lately happen'd (as 'tis ſaid) in the Affairs of our Religion. A Man cannot write with much certainty of theſe matters, yet I will venture to comply with your deſires; never were Reports more groundleſs than thoſe, for matters are ſo far from being mitigated, they begin to be worſe than ever: The buſineſs between the Bayliff of Charanton *and the Gentlemen of the Conſiſtory, is reviv'd. You know, without doubt, that the King upon the Petition they preſented him, had order'd the Bayliff not to proceed any further, and*

gave them leave in the mean time to apply themſelves if they ſaw cauſe, to the Parliament for Remedy; but within theſe five or ſix days the Chancellor ſaid to the Deputy-General, it was much wondred the Conſiſtory had not ſued forth an Appeal from the Sentence of the Bayliff, that they muſt look to it; for if they would not appeal, the King would take off the Prohibition, and give the Bayliff leave to proceed: What is the meaning of this, but to let us ſee they intend to Exterminate us? for queſtionleſs you remember, one Article of that Sentence was, that we ſhould pay the Sacrament ſuch reſpect as is due to it. Whether what was ſaid to Monſieur Ruvigny *will take effect, I know not; but you know well enough, that in what concerns us, they do not their buſineſs by half, but go through with their work. The Provinces of* Poitou *and* Aunix *are in a condition that deſerves all manner of Compaſſion, all acts of the moſt Barbarous Cruelty are exercis'd in thoſe Countries; the Relations we have thence would break your heart: 'Tis true, the Troops are drawn out, which is the only ground I know for the reports of mitigation; but the Forces were drawn out of* Poitou, *for no other reaſon, but becauſe there was buſineſs to imploy them elſewhere, or to lay the noiſe the violence of their proceedings rais'd in thoſe parts: In*

all

all other points, the Perſecution in thoſe Provinces is not at all abated; from Poitiers *to* Rochelle, *there is not a Miniſter to be ſeen; and in all that Province, formerly full of places for Religious Worſhip, there are not ſix places but the Churches are ſhut up, or the Miniſters ſilenced; all thoſe Churches which were appendants of Mannors, the tenure whereof gave Right to the Lords to have Religious Worſhip perform'd there, were all ſhut up on the ſudden: The Miniſters of other Churches yet ſtanding, are ſome confin'd, others baniſhed, others ſilenc'd, and moſt impriſon'd. Monſieur* Boſſatran *Miniſter of* Niort, *and ſeven of his Elders, are Priſoners at* Rochelle; *The Sieurs* Paumier, D' Iſle, Champion, Le Pain, Du Son, Loquet, *Miniſters of St.* Maixaut, de la Motte, de Mougon, de Fontenay, de Marennes, *and many others, have had Sentence pronounc'd againſt them, that their Goods ſhall be ſold, or are impriſon'd, or fled, or baniſh'd; one is confin'd to* Vezelay, *another to* Bezomſon, *others to other places, ſo that in all theſe Provinces you can hardly find one officiating Miniſter; this new kind of Perſecution is exercis'd upon pretence, that the Miniſters gave Certificates to thoſe who are gone out of the Kingdom; they Proſecute with that Cruelty thoſe who give relief to theſe miſerable Fugitives, that Burgeſſes*

geſſes of Rochell have been impriſon'd and fined for giving them a glaſs of water. The Marqueſs of Dompierre, a Gentleman of Note, hath been a long time Priſoner for harbouring forty or fifty poor men, who were in ſearch of means to ſet themſelves at Liberty, from the tyranny exercis'd upon their Conſciences. 'Tis true, the Intendant Marillac hath not any Soldiers left; but he ſtirs not abroad without his Deputies and his Guards, who act the ſame Out-rages the Soldiers did: He ſends before him his Harbingers into the Villages to frighten them; when arriv'd, he calls before him the Inhabitants of the Proteſtant Profeſſion, exhorts them to obey the King's Orders and embrace his Religion: thoſe who carry his Orders about, obſerve no Meaſures, Menaces, Promiſes, Troubles newly rais'd or reviv'd, Diſcharges, Officers pay, eaſing thoſe who have been over-rated in Aſſeſſements, and money diſtributed, have made an infinite number of Revolters: The Shepherds are ſmitten that the flocks maybe ſcatter'd. The Miniſters of all Churches held by right of Tenure, are tax'd in aſſeſſments to the King, that they may be forc'd to deſert: The violence is ſo terrible and exceſſive, by the Taxes they aſſeſs for payment of Offices (as they call them) that the Country is not eas'd in the leaſt by the Soldiers being drawn out; thoſe who the laſt

year

year were tax'd but at thirty Livers, have this year been tax'd by the Intendant at five or six hundred. Thus all are obliged to desert, and if any one leave his house he is carried to Prison, under pretence he was going out of the Kingdom. 'Tis certain that nothing but an inability of getting out, hath retain'd in the Provinces any Person of the Protestant Religion; *and you may be assur'd, that the next Spring Millions will follow you into Strange Countries; they who cannot go out at the Door will leap out at the Window, and trust the mercy of the Waves to convey them to some Vessel at Sea: God grant the poor Wretches may in forreign parts meet with tender Hearts and Compassionate Souls; these reports of mitigation are rais'd by our Enemies, on design to cool the fervor of that Charity, those* Protestant Countries *which injoy the* Peace God hath taken from us, *exercis'd toward our fugitive Brethren; and those Enemies are in the midst of us as well as among our Adversaries. We have among us some wretched Traytors who spread a Report, that we shall shortly see a great change of Affairs; that there shall be a Reformation in* France, *not of us, but a Reformation of far greater value and importance, and therefore we are not to think of leaving the Kingdom. These Men catch new hold, when others let*

go

go theirs, and fancy grounds of freſh hopes, where others ſee nothing but cauſe of Deſpair: You underſtand well enough what ſuch Perſons think, and what is to be expected from them. This, Sir, you are to believe of the mitigations you have heard of: What I have now told you is truth, of which I have been an Ocular Witneſs, being lately return'd out of the places where the Facts have been committed; you ſee there is cauſe to wiſh your Gazetteers had better Information or better Intentions, and would not ſtuff their Gazettes with News grounded on intelligence altogether falſe: We have had a flying Report that Marillac *will be recall'd, but 'tis as true as the reſt. Expect not he ſhall be Revok'd till he hath compleated our ruine in the Province of* Poitou; *the deſign of this Letter was only to inform you of the particulars you deſir'd to know; I will not make it longer, but Conclude with aſſuring, you I am,*

Paris Jan. 20. 1682.

Sir, Your moſt humble and obedient Servant.

The

A Catalogue of Plays, Printed for R. Bently *and* M. Magnes.

1. FArtus, *or the* French Puritan.
2. Forc'd Marriage, *or the* Jealous Bride-groom.
3. Engliſh Monſieur.
4. All miſtaken, *or the* Mad Couple.
5. Generous Enemies, *or the* Rediculous Lovers.
6. The Plain-Dealer.
7. Sertorions, *a Tragedy.*
8. Nero, *a Tragedy.*
9. Sophomiſba, *or* Hannibal's overthrow.
10. Gloriana, *or the* Certe of Auguſta Cæſar.
11. Alexander the Great.
12. Methridates, *King of* Pontus.
13. Oedipus, *King of* Thebes.
14. Ceaſar Borgia.
15. Theodocious, *or the force of Love.*
16. Madam Fickle, *or the witty falſe one.*
17. The Fond Husband, *or the* Plotting Siſters.
18. Eſquire Old Sap, *or the* Night Adventures.
19. Fool turn'd Critick.
20. Virtuous Wife, *or* God luck at laſt.
21. The Fatal Wager.
22. Andro-

22. Andromecha.
23. Country Wit.
24. Caleſto, *or the Chaſt Nun.*
25. Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* in 2 parts.
26. Ambitious States-Man, *or the* Loyal Favourite.
27. Miſery of Civil War.
28. The Murder of the *D. of Glouceſter.*
29. Theſtis, *a Tragedy.*
30. Hamblet Prince of *Denmark*, *a Tragedy.*
31. The Orphan, *or the* Unhappy Marriage.
32. The Souldiers Fortune.
33. Tamberlain *the* Great.
34. Mr. *Limberham*, *or the* kind Keeper.
35. Miſtaken Husband.
36. Notes of marrow by the Wits.
37. *Eſſex* and *Elizabeth*, *or the* Unhappy Favourite.
38. Vertue Betray'd, or *Anna Boloyn.*
39. King *Leare.*
40. *Abdellazor*, *or the* Mares Revenge.
41. Town Fop, or Sir *Timothy Tawdery.*
42. *Rare anjour*, a French Comedy.
43. Moor of *Venice.*

FINIS.